policy REVIEW

Summer 1992 Number 61 $4.50

The Man Who Won the Cold War
Edwin Meese III

Why Americans Are Mad
Rush Limbaugh

The Regulatory Octopus
James C. Miller III and Phillip Mink

God and Man in the Inner City
Tucker Carlson

Ross Perot's Judges?
Daniel E. Troy

The GOP's Idea Vacuum
Representative Vin Weber

Lyndon Johnson's Riots
Robert Rector

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JOIN TOWN HALL: THE NETWORK CONSERVATIVE GROUPS ARE TURNING TO

Let's face it: Leftist organizations are so . . . coordinated. They're so . . . "networked." Just ask Robert Bork.

When it comes to "networking," conservative organizations have made big leaps in recent years. But too often, when a conservative organization engages in a policy battle, it can find itself fighting alone. Without allies.

Until now.

The *new* TOWN HALL, the computer-based conservative meeting place, is the locus where conservative organizations assemble and coordinate their policies, ideas and strategies—with the immediacy and intimacy they've never before enjoyed. TOWN HALL is an easy-to-access, secure setting where conservative groups and individuals can "network" with each other. TOWN HALL is a friendly and affordable conservative "inner sanctum" where the "Right" groups can plot, debate and plan—either internally or with other groups—on how to win that policy fight. Together.

TOWN HALL turns your phone-linked computer into a huge office building that only conservatives can enter. It's a place where your organization maintains a secure, private "office" suite: where a group can hold conferences between far-flung national, state and local affiliates, or communicate via our state-of-the-art electronic mail system. Where you can research a critical issue and gain immediate access to important policy papers in the TH library, or allow individuals in different states to work together—at the same time—on an organization publication or direct mail piece.

And while TOWN HALL lets your organization network internally, our computerized piece of real estate is also the setting where your group can network with other conservative groups—the same groups which would have helped in that last policy fight, but which your organization couldn't coordinate with quickly enough—whenever you want, 24-hours-a-day.

Now with TOWN HALL—a joint project of National Review and The Heritage Foundation, two trusted conservative institutions—your organization, whether it be a Washington-based monolith or a small-but-dedicated local outfit, can conference with other conservative groups or individuals, share information and ideas, market products and publications, poll conservatives, and much, much more.

TOWN HALL's functions are endless. So when your group opens a TOWN HALL office, you'll not only increase your access to the rest of the conservative movement, you'll increase productivity.

th

TOWN HALL

The Conservative Meeting Place

To open your organization's office, or to get more information about TOWN HALL, contact Jeanne Allen, TOWN HALL Executive Director, at 1-202-546-4400. To open an individual account today, call 1-800-441-4142. Or maybe you'd like an online tour. Just dial by modem 1-800-648-6964.

A Project of NATIONAL REVIEW and THE HERITAGE FOUNDATION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Summer 1992

policy REVIEW

Number 61

Editor
Adam Meyerson

Executive Editor
Thomas C. Atwood

Managing Editor
Elizabeth Schoenfeld

Assistant Editor
Tucker Carlson

Administrative Assistant
Jim Rutherford

Subscription Manager
Betsy King

Publisher
Edwin J. Feulner Jr.

Editorial Board
David I. Meiselman, Chairman
Sir Kingsley Amis
George F. Gilder
Stephen Haseler
Harold M. Hochman
Ernest W. Lefever
Shirley Robin Letwin
Henry G. Manne
Antonio Martino
Allan H. Meltzer
Robert Moss
John O'Sullivan
William Schneider Jr.
Gordon Tullock
Ernest van den Haag

Policy Review (ISSN 0146-5945) is published quarterly by The Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002-4999. Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and additional mailing offices.

Policy Review is a forum for conservative debate on the major political issues of our time. The views in *Policy Review* are those of the authors. They do not necessarily reflect the views of the editorial board or of The Heritage Foundation.

Correspondence should be sent to *Policy Review*, 214 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002-4999. Telephone: (202) 546-4400. Send requests to reprint more than short quotations to the Executive Editor. Send address changes to *Policy Review*, Subscription Manager, at the above address. Subscription rates are $18 for one year, $34 for two years, $48 for three years. Add $8 a year for foreign air-speeded delivery.

Policy Review is indexed by the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, the Public Affairs Information Service, and the Social Sciences Index. *Policy Review* has been copyrighted in 1992 by The Heritage Foundation and is available on NEXIS. U.S.A. Newsstand Distribution by Eastern News Distributors, Inc., 1130 Cleveland Rd., Sandusky, Ohio 44870.

Adam Meyerson 2 **Fifteen Years of Policy Review**
A Letter from the Editor

James C. Miller III and Phillip Mink 4 **The Ink of the Octopus**
An Agenda for Deregulation

Tucker Carlson 13 **That Old-Time Religion**
Why Black Men Are Returning to Church

Jonathan H. Adler 18 **Little Green Lies**
The Environmental Miseducation of America's Children

Daniel E. Troy 27 **A Difference of Opinion**
Reagan/Bush Judges vs. Their Predecessors

Representative Vin Weber 34 **No Mandate for Leadership**
The Idea Vacuum in the GOP

Edwin Meese III 36 **The Man Who Won the Cold War**
Ronald Reagan's Strategy for Freedom

Robert Rector 40 **Requiem for the War on Poverty**
Rethinking Welfare After the L.A. Riots

Rush Limbaugh 47 **Why Americans Are Angry**
An Interview by William J. Bennett

The Heritage Foundation 50 **Making the World Safe for America**
The Heritage Foreign Policy "Blueprint," with responses from Lee Edwards, Charles H. Fairbanks Jr., Fred Charles Iklé, Penn Kemble, Keith B. Payne, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff Jr., Peter R. Rosenblatt

Senators Hank Brown, Pete V. Domenici, Orrin G. Hatch, Joseph I. Lieberman, William V. Roth Jr. 70 **The $25-Billion Question**
How Five Senators Would Cut Domestic Spending

André Ryerson 74 **Dead Asian Male**
Confucius and Multiculturalism

Chester E. Finn Jr. 80 **Up from Mediocrity**
What Next in School Reform

Alexander Hunter, Bill Bramhall, and Anatol Woolf 84 **The Art of Politics**
Classic Drawings from Policy Review

A Statistical Review 86 **From Carter to Bush**
Are You Better Off Than You Were 15 Years Ago?

Chronology 89 **The Spirit of '77**
The Year in Review

Letters 91 **Dirty driving, Lehrman-Mueller**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fifteen Years of Policy Review

A Letter from the Editor

Adam Meyerson

When Edwin J. Feulner Jr. became president of The Heritage Foundation 15 years ago, one of his first actions was to start a quarterly magazine, *Policy Review*. The first editor was Bob Schuettinger, and his first issue included articles by Robert Moss, Robert Conquest, Ernest van den Haag, and Daniel Patrick Moynihan. By the end of its first year *Policy Review* was framing national debate with such remarkable articles as Walter Williams's still timely "Government Sanctioned Restraints That Reduce Economic Opportunities for Minorities."

John O'Sullivan took over as editor in 1979, and was soon publishing articles by the likes of Charles Krauthammer, Kenneth Minogue, Paul Johnson, and Thomas Sowell. Debates in *Policy Review* over NATO strategy, and between supply-siders and monetarists, showed that the world's most vibrant intellectual give-and-take was among conservatives. One of the classic articles from O'Sullivan's tenure was Tom Bethell's "Lost Civilization of Unesco," the first in a series of successful Heritage efforts to have the U.S. withdraw from that infamous organization. Robert J. Smith's "Privatizing the Environment" (Spring 1982) remains one of the most important contributions to free-market environmentalism. And David Hale's case for the flat tax is as timely as in Spring 1982; has Jerry Brown been reading it?

O'Sullivan, of course, went on to further accomplishments. He became Prime Minister Thatcher's chief speechwriter, and in 1988 Bill Buckley named him his successor as editor of *National Review*.

Thanks to My Colleagues

I have been the editor of *Policy Review* since 1983, and it has been my privilege to work with an extraordinary group of writers and editors. One was an Indian immigrant, Dinesh D'Souza, who was all of 24 when he joined *Policy Review* as managing editor in 1985. In his two years with us, D'Souza wrote many of the best-loved stories in *Policy Review* history, among them "Whose Pawns Are the Bishops?" (Fall 1985), a critique of the American Catholic Church's position on nuclear strategy, and "Mr. Donaldson Goes to Washington: Politics and Social Climbing in the TV Newsroom" (Summer 1986). D'Souza developed at *Policy Review* a strategic approach to reportage that exposes the intellectual contradictions of liberalism and radicalism—a technique he used in his best-selling book, *Illiberal Education*.

Then there was Grover Norquist, whose "Four Million New Jobs" in Spring 1984 was one of the first articles to observe the extraordinary job creation of the Reagan economic boom—a boom that led eventually to 18 million new jobs between 1982 and 1990. Norquist worked with Pete du Pont on our Fall 1985 article "Kamikaze Economics," a potent reminder that protectionism would lead to world depression. But Norquist's greatest coup came when I sent him to Jamba, Angola, and he returned with a masterwork by Jonas Savimbi, "The War Against Soviet Colonialism: The Strategy and Tactics of Anti-Communist Resistance" (Winter 1986), probably the most important statement ever written by an anti-Communist guerrilla leader.

Ben Wildavsky, now executive editor of *The Public Interest*, is one of many talented writers who got their start on the staff of *Policy Review*. (Two others include Claudia Rosett and Cait Murphy, now editorial page editor and deputy editorial page editor of the *Asian Wall Street Journal*.) Wildavsky's article on McDonald's as the nation's best job training program (Summer 1989) typifies *Policy Review*'s approach to America as a land of opportunity; far from being dead-end jobs, Wildavsky showed through interviews of past and present McDonald's employees that fast-food work teaches jobs skills—teamwork, efficiency, customer service—that can lead to rapid advancement. His reporting was so persuasive that a dozen major news organizations ran similar stories after his article appeared.

One of my joys as editor has been to work with authors who don't make their living writing. A favorite example is a farmer from Tarkio, Missouri, named Blake Hurst, who wrote how he and his neighbors used federal farm programs to take advantage of the taxpayers. "We don't really like accepting subsidies," wrote Hurst in "Farming with Uncle Sam" (Spring 1988). "But if we didn't enroll in government farm programs, our corn would be worth $1.80 a bushel; because we participate, we receive $3. Everybody has his price. Now you know ours."

Tom Atwood has run our business and marketing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

operations for the past five years, and has built our paid circulation to its current level of over 16,000. He also wrote an influential article entitled "Through a Glass Darkly: Is the Christian Right Overconfident It Knows God's Will?" (Fall 1989); and it is a mark in the Christian Right's favor that many of its leading organizations have widely distributed Atwood's constructive criticism to their members. With this issue Atwood is stepping down as executive editor. He will be running Heritage's Resource Bank, in which position he will be chief liaison between The Heritage Foundation and other organizations in the conservative movement.

Elizabeth Schoenfeld, our managing editor, has for the past five years applied her exacting standards to the copyediting and production of *Policy Review*. She has also been principal editor of a series of articles we have run on family and women's issues, including "Brave New World: How Day-Care Harms Children," by Karl Zinsmeister (Spring 1988), "What Do Women Want? A Conservative Feminist Manifesto," by Katherine Kersten (Spring 1991), and "Unplanned Parenthood," by Frederica Mathewes-Green (Summer 1991), a sympathetic discussion of crisis pregnancy from a pro-life perspective. One article Schoenfeld edited, "The Parent Trap: America's Family Time Famine," by William R. Mattox Jr. (Winter 1991), is the source of the widely quoted datum that parents spend 40 percent less time with their children than they did 25 years ago.

Burton Yale Pines was Heritage's senior vice president for research and associate publisher of *Policy Review* until earlier this year. I benefited greatly from Pines's guidance and expertise, and published two articles by him that proved very prescient. In "Waiting for Mr. X" (Summer 1989), Pines predicted that the Soviet Union would soon withdraw from Eastern Europe. In "Bull Moose Revolt" (Winter 1991), Pines anticipated the crash in George Bush's political fortunes as a result of his betrayal of the Reagan economic legacy.

On the Ramparts

When historians look back at the past 15 years, the themes that are likely to receive the most attention are the victory of the West in the Cold War, the global spread of democracy and market capitalism, the extraordinary economic rise of East Asia, the towering political and economic achievements of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher, and the failure of the welfare state to relieve the hopelessness in America's cities. On all these fronts, *Policy Review* has been on the intellectual ramparts.

In its treatment of the Cold War, *Policy Review* published many outstanding articles on SDI, the need for military strength, and the battle lines from the Philippines to El Salvador to Afghanistan. One of our best-remembered articles was "Seventy Years of Evil," by Michael Johns (Fall 1987), which chronicled month by month, year by year, the crimes of the Kremlin since the Bolshevik Revolution. In "The National Rebirth of Russia" (Winter 1988), David Moro was one of the first to argue that Russian nationalism had lost its imperialist colors and was now the key to the rollback of the Bolshevik empire—an analysis that proved correct with the emergence of Boris Yeltsin and a democratic Russia.

On the crisis of the welfare state, our most original contribution has probably been an article by Marvin Olasky in our Fall 1990 issue, which has now been expanded into a book, *The Tragedy of American Compassion*. Compared with the 20th-century state, Olasky argued that 19th-century charities were more generous with what the poor need most: love, time, and high moral demands and expectations. His work signals a promising direction for conservatism—the channeling of religious right energy not so much into politics as into private charitable activity that will reshape the character of American culture.

Two past articles are of special relevance to the riots in Los Angeles. In "The Urban Strangler: How Crime Causes Poverty" (Summer 1986), James K. Stewart detailed the economic devastation that criminals wreak on poor neighborhoods. "Crime is the ultimate tax on enterprise," he wrote. "It must be reduced or eliminated before poor people can fully share in the American dream." In "Less Bang-Bang for the Buck: The Market Approach to Crime Control" (Winter 1992), police chief Reuben Greenberg showed that this dream is achievable: he explained how he cut crime by 40 percent in Charleston, South Carolina, with the largest drop coming in public housing projects.

Policy Review has sought to be a journal of record for conservatism, and regularly publishes important statements by top conservative policy-makers and political figures—from Dan Quayle on SDI, to Jack Kemp's open letter to Boris Yeltsin, to Representative Dick Armey on closing obsolete military bases. We are known for in-depth interviews with leaders from Governor Tommy Thompson to Senator Phil Gramm to Paul Weyrich to Jeane Kirkpatrick. Some of our most intriguing interviews have been with Democratic politicians such as Senator Joseph Lieberman and Governor Douglas Wilder who are moving toward conservatism on some issues.

We have sought, too, to be the conscience of conservatism, publishing articles that use conservative principles to go against conservative conventional wisdom. A good example was "The Contras' Culture of Dependency," by Andy Messing Jr. and Allen B. Hazelwood (Fall 1989), which sharply criticized the CIA's management of the guerrilla war in Nicaragua. In "A Question of Patriot-ism" (Spring 1991), Angelo Codevilla attacked the Reagan and Bush approaches to SDI, which have not yet led to the deployment of a single missile defense system. In "Conservatism's Parched Grass Roots" (Spring 1988), Amy Moritz blamed conservatives for the Bork confirmation defeat, and faulted many conservative organizations for failing to mobilize the American people.

To our loyal readers, and to the contributors to The Heritage Foundation who make our magazine possible, the staff of *Policy Review* expresses its deepest thanks. We hope you will send us your opinions, positive and negative, of our articles. And we hope we can live up to your standards as we seek to publish the best of practical conservative thought on the most important political and policy issues of our times.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Ink of the Octopus

An Agenda for Deregulation

James C. Miller III and Phillip Mink

Death and taxes are the only certainties in life. But unless we're careful, overregulation by Uncle Sam will take its place next to the Grim Reaper and the IRS.

While some regulations generate considerable benefits, others are wasting many billions of dollars each year. This waste lowers productivity, stifles innovation, and destroys jobs. The result is economic stagnation, anemic growth, a lower quality of life for all Americans, and a relatively less competitive economy in the world marketplace.

What to do? President Bush took a step in the right direction when in his State of the Union speech he called for a regulatory moratorium to last 90 days. (It was extended on April 29 for four more months.) The moratorium comes at an important juncture, as the past four years have ushered in regulation at a pace not seen since the late 1970s. Consider the following:

- The *Federal Register*, which publishes all proposed new federal regulations, hit over 67,000 pages in 1991, the third highest count in history and the highest count since President Carter left office.
- From 1983 to 1989, the government's twice-yearly count of the regulations the agencies are developing averaged 4,000. Since 1989, the figure has averaged 4,900.
- In 1991, the federal government spent 22 percent more in real dollars on regulatory agencies than in President Carter's last year.
- In 1980, the government employed 121,670 regulators. By 1985, that number had been cut to 101,963. This year, the number will rise to 122,406.

Crude measures, to be sure, but these are no idle statistics. In 1985, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) found that the United States spends four times more of its GNP on pollution control than does Japan. And that was before the 1990 Clean Air Act Amendments and the Pollution Prevention Act, which will generate tens of billions of dollars more in regulatory compliance costs. Ditto for the impending reauthorization of the Clean Water Act and the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act.

Perhaps we could excuse these expenditures if we were getting a big bang for our environmental buck, but we aren't. Instead, as the OECD pointed out, the United States has "less flexible environmental regulations...that block effective and more economical and technologically advanced solutions." In today's global economy, this damn-the-cost approach to regulation can do us no good.

The regulatory moratorium, of course, will help. But it's not enough. We suggest 10 specific policy initiatives to complement the regulatory moratorium. The first six aim to increase the cost-effectiveness of the growing tide of agency "social" regulations. The other four are intended to eliminate legal barriers to competition.

1) Enact the Paperwork Reduction Act of 1991. During the 1970s, increasing red tape created bipartisan political support for the Paperwork Reduction Act (PRA), whose chief sponsors were former Senator Lawton Chiles (D–FL) and Representative Frank Horton (R–NY). The 1980 act was the very last legislation signed into law by President Carter—over the objections of all his Cabinet officers save his budget director, Jim McIntyre. The law requires executive agencies to submit their paperwork requirements to the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs (OIRA), a division of the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) set up by the act. If OIRA determines that the requirement is overly burdensome or unnecessary, the agency cannot go forward with the requirement.

OIRA estimates that since 1981 it has eliminated over 600 million hours of paperwork that agencies wanted to promulgate, which translates into about $6 billion annually (using a conservative $10 per hour). Unfortunately, two obstacles stand in the way of successfully implementing this enormously important law.

First, the Supreme Court's 1990 decision in *Dole* v. *United Steelworkers of America* substantially compromised the act's effectiveness. In *Steelworkers*, OIRA had disapproved a Labor Department regulation that required

James C. Miller III, *chairman of Citizens for a Sound Economy, was chairman of the Federal Trade Commission from 1981 to 1985 and director of the Office of Management and Budget from 1985 to 1988.* Phillip Mink *is general counsel of Citizens for a Sound Economy Legal Alliance.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

redundant, burdensome labeling of potentially hazardous substances. The United Steelworkers union and Ralph Nader's Public Citizen sued to eliminate OIRA's jurisdiction. They won over a drafting infirmity in the act's language that excludes from review paperwork not actually collected by an agency. Former Senator Chiles, having left office, filed an *amicus* brief with the Court saying that the clear intent of the Congress was *not* to create the *Steelworkers* exception. Nevertheless, the Court said the plain language of the act read otherwise and thus it had to grant the exception.

The result is a major loophole. If an agency wants to avoid OIRA's paperwork review, it can do so quite easily by not requiring that the information be submitted to the federal government. In that event, OIRA can't demand review of the requirement and has no authority to stop it. So, for instance, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) can require a small dry-cleaning business to implement extensive and perhaps unnecessary labeling procedures for chemicals used in the cleaning process. As long as OSHA doesn't require that the business send any information to OSHA (or another federal agency), OIRA is helpless to intervene.

Repairing *Steelworkers* should be a simple matter, but that brings up the second hurdle. Some members of Congress fiercely oppose OIRA's involvement in reviewing paperwork requirements and regulations for two reasons. Either they personally are "pro-regulatory" or they want to guard congressional turf in their battle with the executive branch over who controls the agencies. As a result, although OIRA's budgetary authorization expired in 1989, attempts to reauthorize it have been mired in a hostile debate over OIRA's role. (OIRA has been routinely "authorized on an appropriation" since 1989.)

On the hostile side, Senator John Glenn (D–OH), chairman of the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee and a major OIRA opponent, has introduced a bill

Damn-the-cost regulatory standards divert resources from health and safety programs that would save more lives more cheaply.

to reauthorize OIRA. But that bill would not repair the *Steelworkers* loophole. It would further eviscerate the agency by forcing it to devote far more time to managing and disseminating government information rather than reviewing paperwork and regulations—Glenn calls his bill the Federal Information Resources Management Act. The Glenn bill also would subject OIRA to harsh public disclosure requirements not matched by the regulatory agencies. (Needless to say, members of Congress and their staffs are not subject to any such requirements.)

AP/Wide World Photos

The time has come to take the regulatory review battle to Senator Glenn. If he wants to argue that regulatory costs don't matter, make him do so publicly.

But there's an alternative. The Paperwork Reduction Act of 1991, introduced by Senators Dale Bumpers (D–AR), Bob Kasten (R–WI), and Sam Nunn (D–GA), would both repair *Steelworkers* and strengthen OIRA. In addition, it would require the agencies to reduce their paperwork burdens by 5 percent a year.

Although it has endorsed the Paperwork Reduction Act of 1991, the Bush administration has been reluctant to confront Senator Glenn over OIRA reauthorization. It shouldn't be. The Bumpers–Kasten–Nunn approach would be a perfect complement to the administration's regulatory moratorium. Indeed, if the administration fails to achieve passage of the Bumpers–Kasten–Nunn bill, the president should issue an executive order requiring agencies to seek OIRA approval of their information requests even when they fall under the *Steelworkers* exception.

2) Devote more resources to regulatory review. In the early 1980s, the Reagan administration undertook an ambitious agenda to control burdensome agency regulations. The principal tool to achieve this goal, Executive Order (E.O.) 12291, directs agencies to conduct benefit-cost reviews of their major proposed regulations and obtain OIRA confirmation that the proposals meet the major goals for the regulations as set forth in the order. Essentially, these are that:

(a) the agency has sufficient information upon which to base the rule,
(b) the benefits of the rule exceed its costs, and
(c) the agency has chosen the least costly means of achieving the regulatory objective.

Otherwise, unless issuance of the rule is mandated by law,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the agency should not move forward.

As with paperwork review, regulatory review has many detractors in Congress. During the past year, Vice President Quayle's Council on Competitiveness has met with particular hostility for its involvement in the review process. (Under E.O. 12291, as amended, regulatory-review decision-making is under the general supervision of the council. Before the council was established in 1989, it was under the vice president's Task Force on Regulatory Relief.)

The Bush administration should meet this hostility head-on. Two specific actions would help.

Strengthen the Council on Competitiveness. Representative Henry Waxman (D–CA) claims, "While Mr. Bush cultivates the image of the environmental president, his vice president is part of a shadow government that works behind the scene to help polluting industries undermine the law." In fact, the council is nothing more than a committee of agency heads and senior White House officials, including the director of OMB, the secretary of the Treasury, the attorney general, and others. The council has six staffers, as well as OIRA personnel, to carry out Vice President Quayle's goal of "reducing and eliminating excessive, burdensome, and unnecessary regulations."

Compared with Japan's, U.S. environmental regulation is more expensive and less effective.

Take, for instance, the council's involvement with the Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) regulations implementing the 1990 Clean Air Act Amendments. One of those regulations would establish a permit system for all stationary pollution sources. As required by E.O. 12291 and the Paperwork Reduction Act, EPA estimated that the regulations would cost $292.5 million.

However, Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation's independent estimate put the cost at $34.1 *billion.* We argued before OIRA and the council that the EPA regulation neither minimized the paperwork burden as required by the Paperwork Reduction Act nor maximized net benefits as required by E.O. 12291. Therefore, the regulation should be reformulated. The council delayed those regulations for several months in seeking a less costly alternative. Ultimately, the decision went to President Bush, who sided with the council.

Hostility from environmental groups and Congress notwithstanding, the council should continue to force agencies to reformulate any regulations that don't provide the nation with clear benefits. To achieve that goal, the administration should aggressively defend the council's activities.

Appoint an OIRA administrator. OIRA has been without a presidentially appointed, Senate-confirmed administrator since October 1989. This situation is eroding OIRA morale and makes the agency's civil-service employees political targets during congressional hearings. And because OIRA's acting administrator, although extremely competent, is a career civil servant, he has a difficult time going toe-to-toe with presidentially appointed, Senate-confirmed officials at the agencies. President Bush should appoint an OIRA head now, and the administration should take the fight to its congressional opponents.

The problem is that Senator Glenn's Governmental Affairs Committee must confirm the OIRA appointee. The last such appointee waited for months while the administration negotiated an agreement with Glenn to reauthorize the Paperwork Reduction Act. Under the agreement, Senator Glenn would have been able to hobble OIRA by means of requiring disclosure and other procedures that do not apply to the agencies or to Congress, and there would have been no repair of the *Steelworkers* loophole. In exchange, OMB would get its OIRA head and other OMB appointees confirmed.

The deal fell through when anonymous Republican senators put holds on the deal during the waning hours of the 1990 Congress. To this day, Senator Glenn is angry over that deal's demise. Now he says he won't even hold hearings on an OIRA appointee until he has a deal on reauthorization of the Paperwork Reduction Act.

The time has come to take the battle to Senator Glenn. If he wants to argue that regulatory costs don't matter, make him do so publicly.

3) Establish a regulatory budget and cap it. While regulatory review is a crucial component of the attack on regulatory excess, it's not enough. The fundamental problem is that regulators gain power and prestige by regulating as much as possible. Indeed, the *raison d'être* of regulatory agencies is to issue regulations. Naturally, they are hostile to any attempts, such as paperwork and regulatory review, to curb their power.

A regulatory budget would give agencies a powerful incentive to regulate more cost-effectively. Under such a system, each agency would be given a maximum in regulatory costs it could impose on the economy each year.

Although it would be preferable to establish a regulatory budget through legislation, it could be accomplished on a limited scale by presidential directives. Agencies would be required to submit their annual regulatory programs, including the attendant costs, to OIRA and the Council on Competitiveness. Those programs would be approved only to the extent that their costs do not exceed the increase budgeted for the year. For example, if EPA decides it wants to impose an additional $20 billion in new regulatory costs next year, it must cut $20 billion in regulatory costs elsewhere.

No doubt the agencies will complain that they can't reduce regulatory burdens, because they must comply with laws directing them to write regulations.

It won't wash. Many regulations have been on the books for years, not because they serve a useful purpose but because it is in the agencies' interest to have them there. For instance, marketing orders for oranges and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lemons cost consumers hundreds of millions of dollars each year. They aren't mandated by law—merely authorized. A regulatory budget would encourage the Department of Agriculture to get rid of them.

President Bush's regulatory moratorium was an important step in forcing the agencies to take a long, hard look at their programs. He should institutionalize that process by implementing a regulatory budget as a permanent part of the federal regulatory process. He should then ask Congress to enact the proposal into law. Whatever the implementing mechanism, this initiative will create competition within and among agencies to regulate in a cost-effective manner and will increase accountability in the agencies and in the Congress.

4) **Eliminate regulatory-review loopholes.** Another problem with paperwork and regulatory review is that there are too many ways, as in the *Steelworkers* case, to skirt them. Policy-makers should deal immediately with two problem areas:

◦ *The independent agency exemption.* Under the Paperwork Reduction Act, the independent agencies, such as the Federal Communications Commission, the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the International Trade Commission, can avoid OIRA review with a simple majority vote of the commissioners. Also, participation in the E.O. 12291 review process is completely optional for the independents. But an unnecessarily costly regulation is a burden whether it comes from the Department of Agriculture or the Federal Trade Commission.

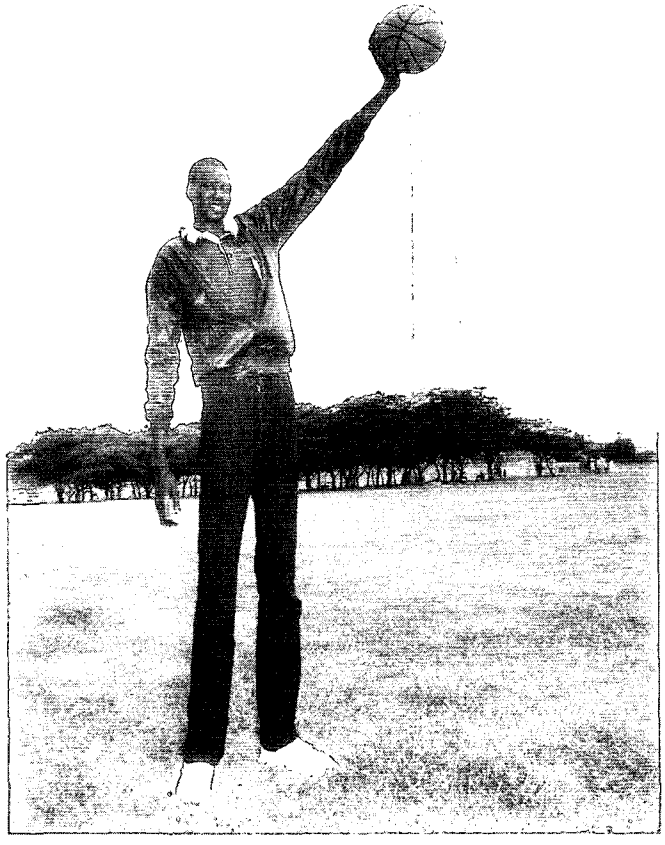
The Bush administration should work with Congress to bring the independents under the Paperwork Reduction Act. In addition, the president should amend E.O. 12291 to include the independents. The legality might be challenged, but the Department of Justice's Office of Legal Counsel has opined that extension of E.O. 12291 to the independents would be upheld in the courts.

◦ *Prohibitions on the use of benefit-cost analysis.* Several statutes, such as the Clean Air Act, ban the agencies from using benefit-cost analysis in writing regulations. In a world economy where the nation with the lowest cost of production has a leg up on the rest, this policy is insanity.

The problem is that many policy-makers believe that saving a single human life from, say, a benzene-caused cancer is worth the many billions of dollars it may cost to eliminate the benzene risk. (This cost-doesn't-matter approach reached its nadir in 1991, when EPA formulated a labeling rule for wood-preserving chemicals that would have cost over $5 trillion per averted cancer death. Fortunately, the council intervened.)

This preposterous waste of money makes no sense by any standard. If the government wants to protect public health and safety, it could find far more effective ways of doing it than by forcing firms to spend huge sums of money to avoid a precious few statistical deaths. For instance, providing better pre-natal care, redesigning highways to make them safer, and offering more nutrition education surely would save far more lives at far lower costs.

In fact, the real problem with spending those many trillions on extreme regulatory standards is that it will cause far more human misery than is caused by the one



UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

Eastman-Kodak's permit for waste disposal under the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act was seven feet tall, just six inches shorter than NBA star Manute Bol.

cancer death. Consider both sides of the statistical coin. Forcing firms to spend money on regulatory compliance means lost jobs. Unemployment results in social pathologies, such as spouse and child abuse, alcohol and drug use, higher stress, and the like—all of which result in statistical deaths. A statistical death from unemployment-related problems is the same as a statistical death from benzene, so agencies should be considering both. They aren't.

At least they weren't until this year. The administration has put the agencies on notice that they can no longer ignore the human costs of expensive regulations. In March, OIRA refused to approve an OSHA rule, as the agency's analysis "omits consideration of the effect of the rule's compliance costs on workers." OIRA's logic was that if firms have to spend more money on compliance, they will have less to pay workers. The public health literature demonstrates that workers with lower incomes are less healthy. Indeed, according to an estimate by R. Keeney published in the journal *Risk Analysis*, every $7.5-million increase in regulatory compliance costs results in one statistical death.

On this basis, since the regulation in question would cost $163 million, it would cause an estimated additional 22 statistical deaths. Yet OSHA estimated that its rule, by lowering exposure to certain substances, would prevent only eight to 13 statistical deaths. Thus, OIRA complained that OSHA's proposal would actually increase

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AP/Wide World Photos

A 50-percent recycling mandate is expensive and foolhardy if there is no realistic way to reuse most of our trash.

mortality, not reduce it.

If broadly applied, the implications of this "wealth is health" approach for regulatory costs are astounding. No doubt it will continue to meet with fierce opposition from labor unions, environmentalists, and some members of Congress. But the Bush administration shouldn't give in. It's time we all started analyzing the real costs and benefits of government regulation, instead of assuming that every well-meaning initiative is beneficial.

5) Play intelligent defense on the environment. According to the EPA, compliance with environmental regulation costs the U.S. economy $115 billion a year. EPA also estimates that the costs of environmental compliance will be almost 3 percent of GNP by the year 2000. Some would say that since these are EPA figures, actual costs are likely to be much higher. With those kinds of numbers, the Bush administration should place limits on environmental regulation, especially since so much the agency does generates only the most marginal of improvements in the environment.

Three areas in particular are in need of containment:

• *Resource Conservation and Recovery Act (RCRA) reauthorization.* In the early 1970s, the Clean Air Act and the Clean Water Act imposed zero-emission standards for certain pollutants previously dumped into estuaries and the air. Firms responded by creating waste sludges, which they deposited in landfills and dumps. The result, according to author Jim Bovard, was "an expensive shuffling of hazardous wastes, rather than a reduction of such wastes."

Enter RCRA in 1976. That law imposed extensive regulations on hazardous wastes. The program has been a fiasco, in part because the premise of RCRA—that waste disposals are a significant health threat—was almost entirely speculative. A 1985 study cited in the *Journal of Regulation and Social Costs* found "few published scientific reports of health effects clearly attributable to chemicals from disposal sites....[T]he data suggest that human exposures have not been of sufficient duration and concentration to have resulted in observable long-term health effects."

Nonetheless, RCRA imposes tens of billions of dollars of costs on firms and local, state, and federal government entities. The sad part is that, even on its own terms, RCRA has failed by actively impeding and discouraging the adoption of new waste-disposal technology. RCRA's permit-getting process governs waste treatment facilities down to the most minute, and pointless, detail. For instance, if a facility wants to change from an AT&T telephone system to GTE, it has to modify its RCRA permit. No small affair, that permit. An Eastman–Kodak permit for waste disposal under the Clean Water Act was 17 pages long. Eastman-Kodak's permit for waste disposal under RCRA was seven *feet* tall. Who wants to introduce new technology when you have to deal with that kind of bureaucratic overkill?

Now several bills in Congress are upping the ante by making a pointlessly rigid program even more rigid. S. 976, the primary RCRA reauthorization bill, would set a 25-percent recycling goal for 1995 and a 50-percent goal for the year 2000. The bill's authors promote these mandates as a way of saving landfill space. But they are creating more problems than they would solve.

Recycling uses other resources as well, such as fuel, water, electricity, and labor. A 50-percent mandate would therefore be expensive and foolhardy if there is no realistic way to reuse most of our trash. In addition, using fuel, water, and electricity creates health hazards as well. What we would gain in recycling we might more than lose in other areas.

Recycling is only part of the RCRA reauthorization problem. Last year's Senate bill contained one of the more pernicious and radical environmental doctrines in recent times: toxics use reduction. This healthy-sounding concept actually involves the complete elimination of certain chemicals from industrial use, without any regard for either their benefits or their relative risk. We may even have to take chlorine out of our drinking water and swimming pools. The likely result is that firms will misdirect resources into non-economic alternatives without any reduction in risk.

The better approach to reauthorizing RCRA is to amend the act to correct its many flaws. Absent that, the administration should use its discretion under the act to limit the damage.

• *Clean water reauthorization.* The EPA estimates that the nation has spent $590 billion (in 1990 dollars) during the past 20 years to improve water quality standards. Between 1992 and 2000, the nation will spend an additional $650 billion. Huge expenditures notwithstanding, the results are mixed. Improvements in industrial and government-owned treatment sources (point sources)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have been offset by increases in runoff from agricultural, urban, and forest sources.

Nevertheless, the proposed Water Pollution Prevention and Control Act of 1991 ignores runoff sources and would simply impose stricter standards on point sources. By ignoring the data and any analysis of relevant benefits and costs, the bill would waste resources on a grand scale. This bill, and any similar attempts to deal with environmental questions, should not stand.

◦ *Clean Air Act regulations.* The Clean Air Act's permit regulations are only the first round in what promises to be a protracted conflict. That controversial legislation will generate upwards of 70 different regulatory programs.

Much of what the law generates is pure waste. Paul Portney, vice president of Resources for the Future, estimates that the act will cost $30 billion a year to implement but will generate benefits of only $15 billion. Given those numbers, OIRA and the Council on Competitiveness should ignore the hyperbole from Congress and environmental groups and should continue to engage EPA when the agency tries to regulate beyond what is absolutely necessary.

6) Replace technology standards with performance standards. Playing intelligent defense on existing environmental regulation is only the first step. An important element of a long-term strategy is to eliminate incredibly wasteful "best-available-technology" (BAT) standards and replace them with performance standards.

◦ *RCRA.* Under RCRA, firms must treat hazardous wastes under BAT standards. That's a problem. Instead of meeting clearly defined standards regarding hazards to health and the environment, the BAT standard changes with each advancement in waste removal. As a result, EPA regulates "hazardous substances" without regard to the level at which they are hazardous to health or the environment. This regulating for the sake of regulating must stop. At the very least, agencies should only regulate to a clearly defined level, at which experts have identified a threat to public health and safety.

Consider a couple of RCRA hazards. The EPA considers methylene a health threat only at levels of exposure 1,600 times higher than is required by RCRA's BAT standard. For trichlorofluoromethane, the level is 20,000 times higher. Nevertheless, RCRA forces treatment to infinitesimal levels.

U.S. hazardous waste laws are far more stringent than the laws of Canada, Japan, and most other industrialized nations. Can we afford that expense, particularly when the billions wasted on best-technology standards produce little in the way of discernible benefits? Of course not.

◦ *Clean Air Act.* The 1990 amendments aside, the 1970 Clean Air Act and its 1977 amendments produced a complicated regulatory framework under which EPA and the states control emissions from industrial firms and utilities. Unfortunately, the politics of passing clean air legislation produced a regulatory monster.

The coalition gaining passage of the act included declining industries in the Midwest and Northeast and high-sulfur coal producers. The declining industries wanted to reduce competition from other areas of the country, so the Clean Air Act subjected "new sources" (new plants or additions to plants) to much stricter engineering standards than older factories. And, politics being the name of the game, EPA and the states deal with older factories more leniently. The result is that an older factory can emit up to five times as much pollution as a new factory. Also, the standards restrict investment in basic industries in the South and West, which is precisely what the declining industries wanted.

Maybe we could excuse this game if the costs of retrofitting old factories were prohibitively expensive. In fact, retrofitting is more expensive—somewhat less than twice the cost of outfitting new factories. But the act requires that new factories be 90 percent cleaner than old factories. This differential between old factories and new simply points up the lengths to which politics, not environmental concerns, ruled the day.

The BAT standards entered the picture thanks to the dirty-coal-producing states in Appalachia and the Midwest. The 1977 amendments to the act required that all new emitters of sulfur oxides install the best available continuous emission reduction technology—those famous, expensive scrubbers. In addition, the EPA had to set minimum percentage reduction levels for that equipment. The most efficient way for power plants to reduce sulfur dioxide pollution is to burn low-sulfur coal. But as Robert Crandall of the Brookings Institution has pointed out, the scrubber "requirements...have eliminated the incentive for utilities in the Midwest to import low-sulfur western coal to comply with the new-source standards. Thus the utilities have continued...to use higher-sulfur eastern coal, incurring no relative financial penalty for this less-than-optimal choice of pollution control strategies."

Mandating scrubbers at power plants has led to more air pollution at higher costs.

The results boggle the mind. Since scrubbers break down so often, factories spew out more sulfur oxides than they would if they simply burned low-sulfur western coal. As Crandall concluded, "We can now say with confidence that it is past environmental policies, designed to protect dirty coal and dirty industry in the Northeast and Midwest, that have directly and indirectly created the acid rain problem."

Eliminating Legal Barriers to Competition

During the Carter administration, businesses and consumers joined forces to eliminate the majority of price and entry regulation for trucking, air, and rail transport. This opening of competition has saved the economy hundreds of billions of dollars, with phenomenal benefits for specific industrial sectors. According to an Interstate Commerce Commission study, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"preponderance of the evidence for each transportation and public utility industry shows that improved performance and lower prices to end users occurred in direct proportion to the amount of deregulation they experienced during the 1980s."

Unfortunately, little has happened on this front for over a decade. It's time to revive the idea that the government shouldn't stand in the way of firms that can deliver a better quality product at a lower price.

Four policy initiatives are ripe for action:

7) Enhance deployment of information technology by *deregulating the communications industry.* The computer revolution has forever changed the world economy. In today's information age, knowledge is the crucial raw material in economic transactions, so those who best generate and disseminate knowledge are likely to succeed. To achieve that success, the United States must be able to take advantage of merging computer and communications technologies.

It makes no sense for the U.S. to restrict the use of computer technology in the telephone network.

Consider two implications of the invention of the transistor in the 1950s and the microprocessor in the 1970s. First, the old AT&T monopoly was based on huge electromechanical devices that processed and routed telephone calls. Now a computer the size of a small desk can do the same job. With advances in chip technology, those switching stations will get smaller and cheaper.

The second implication is that more firms and individuals are gaining access to powerful computers and are creating and disseminating data. With the impending rivers of information, we will need a far better communications network than the one we have now, as telephone companies are a long way from replacing the old technology with the new.

That's where U.S. telecommunications policy comes in. Even though computer-generated information is sent through the telephone lines, U.S. policy restricts the use of computer technology in the telephone network.

To accelerate computer development, two policies are in dire need of change.

• *Modify the AT&T breakup agreement.* In 1982, eight years after it filed an antitrust suit, the Justice Department and AT&T finally settled. AT&T kept its manufacturing, research, and long-distance businesses but spun off its 22 local telephone firms into what are now the seven regional Bell operating companies.

Unfortunately, the antitrust decree banned the seven Bell companies from providing long-distance or information services, and from manufacturing telecommunications equipment, including computer software. The Bell companies are high-technology firms with almost $200 billion in assets. Simply by virtue of running the telephone network, they already have much of the technological expertise necessary to provide everything from video games to alarm services to credit-card verification. It makes no sense for the United States to keep research and development superstars out of information-technology markets that are among the most important for the nation's economic future.

Judge Harold Greene says that without these bans on information technologies the Bell companies could abuse their monopoly telephone franchises. Newspaper publishers, who fear that information technology provided by telephone companies will cut into classified and display advertising, make the same charge, often by using their news-and-editorial pages without revealing their commercial interest.

But computer technology is breaking down those franchises. In addition, federal and state regulators have long used a variety of tools to control potential anticompetitive behavior. Indeed, the telephone companies' current participation in competitive markets over which Judge Greene has no jurisdiction (such as cellular telephone service and print yellow pages) indicate that telephone company competition is manageable.

The D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals has taken the first step by forcing Judge Greene to lift the information services ban. Once the appeals process is complete, that decision will allow the Bell companies to offer an electronic yellow pages and a host of other database services. But the manufacturing ban prevents them from creating new devices to enhance the use of computer technology, and the long-distance ban prevents them from networking computers. Those bans should go—*now.*

• *Repeal the Cable Act ban on telephone company provision of cable television.* The 1984 Cable Act banned the nation's 1,500 or so telephone companies from providing cable service in their regions. That act and the information ban kept the seven Bell companies, which serve 80 percent of the nation's consumers, out of cable altogether.

The ban in the Cable Act is pointless. Computer technology turns any information—video, voice, data—into "bits," which are then transmitted over the network. Cable firms are no better suited to doing that than telephone firms, or any other firm with the technology, for that matter. Banning potential competitors from the cable market only means higher prices and fewer choices for consumers, and less development of computer technology. That ban also should be rolled back.

8) Revise the nation's obsolete banking laws. Just as computer technology has made information the crucial element in economic transactions, it plays a huge role in global capital flows. A blip on a computer screen in New York can, in a millisecond, be a blip on a computer screen in Hong Kong, as investors continually seek the highest return. Unfortunately, U.S. capital markets are hobbled by laws that predate the computer age.

The problem is that, by law, banks can only provide

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

checking and savings accounts and make loans. Before computers, banks could turn a profit with these narrow operations, but that was because they achieved economies of scale by serving as counting houses for their customers' many financial transactions. Now computers do much of the work that clerks once did.

Computers also have blurred the lines between banks and non-banks by making capital exceedingly mobile. So long as they don't meet the legal definition of a "bank," a host of nonbank firms, such as insurance companies, now compete in the capital markets both domestically and internationally. As a result, many firms can borrow capital without going to banks.

Unless useless restrictions are lifted, banks could go the way of the horse and buggy, and the U.S. financial services sector will be less vital than it could be. For starters, the Glass–Steagall Act of 1933 prohibits banks from providing investment underwriting. If Congress would repeal the act, banks could underwrite and sell securities and mutual funds in competition with investment banking firms and brokerage houses. Ultimately, that heightened competition would reduce the cost of capital. Glass-Steagall also prevents banks from selling insurance. That ban should go, too, so banks could provide their customers with "one-stop shopping" for financial services products.

Another major impediment to financial services competition is the geographic restrictions in the McFadden Act of 1927 and the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956, which prevent banks from setting up banks or bank branches across state lines. These restrictions are particularly senseless in a global economy. Moreover, the restrictions hurt banks by tying them to regions, such as New England and Texas, that may be particularly hard hit by an economic downturn. For the past several years, Congress and the Reagan and Bush administrations have tried to move reform bills. They've failed because of special interests that want to avoid competition, among them insurance agents, securities firms, and small-to-medium-sized banks.

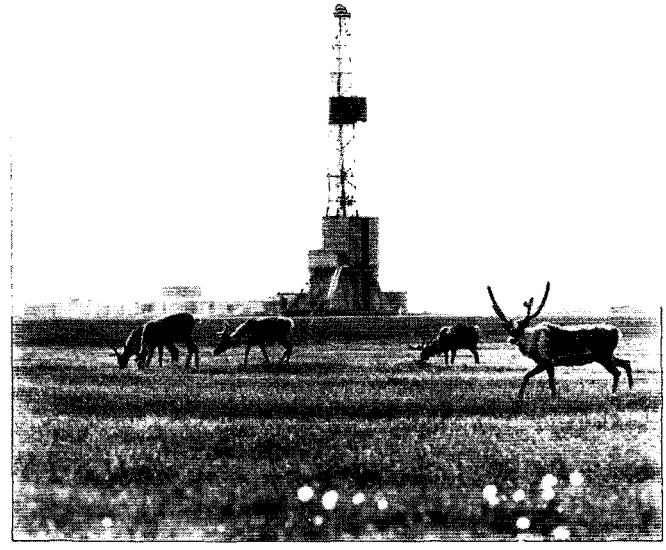
It's time to put the public interest above special interests. Otherwise, pointless competitive restrictions will continue to burden the U.S. financial system with a particularly smelly albatross.

9) Revamp the nation's energy policies. The 1973 Arab oil embargo set the U.S. economy on its head. Since then, policy-makers have tried to make the United States less dependent on foreign oil, but their efforts have fallen short and now result in sheer waste. Two policies are in particular need of change.

◦ *Repeal the CAFE standards.* In response to the 1973 embargo, Congress passed the Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) law, which requires automobile makers' entire fleets to meet fuel economy standards. That standard was an average of 18 miles per gallon in 1978. Today it is 27.5 miles per gallon.

CAFE proponents hoped to reduce dependence on foreign oil by encouraging energy conservation. They also hoped to reduce auto pollution. Their hopes have been dashed by economic reality.

When the law was passed in 1975, the nation imported



AP/Wide World Photos

Opening more of Alaska for oil drilling would be good for energy supplies and good for caribou.

35.8 percent of its oil. By 1978, when the 18 miles per gallon standard was imposed, we imported 42.5 percent. Last year, at 27.5 mpg, we imported about the same—42.2 percent. Clearly the CAFE approach to energy independence hasn't worked.

For good reason. Because of geological happenstance, U.S. firms don't have as easy a time drilling for oil as their Persian Gulf counterparts. Higher costs of production for U.S. firms mean they need higher prices to survive in the world oil market. But CAFE reduces the demand for oil and thus reduces the price, which means less-efficient U.S. firms have a tougher time turning a profit. So unless the government subsidizes oil production, reducing the demand for oil will always favor Persian Gulf producers. In short, CAFE's goal of reducing dependence on foreign oil is doomed to fail.

CAFE also has failed to achieve its environmental goals. Higher fuel efficiency standards do reduce carbon dioxide emissions for some cars. But CAFE encourages the production of more fuel-efficient cars. Motorists drive those cars more. As vehicle miles rise, so do emissions of carbon monoxide, nitrogen oxides, and volatile organic compounds. The result is no clear environmental gain.

Finally, CAFE encourages the production of smaller cars, which don't offer as much protection in accidents. A study by Robert Crandall and John D. Graham, published in the *Journal of Law and Economics*, suggests that CAFE's 27.5 miles per gallon standard in 1989 will produce an additional 3,900 accidental deaths over the lifetimes of cars produced in that year.

Failure notwithstanding, some members of Congress want to perpetuate and strengthen the CAFE scheme. Congress should scrap the whole program and look to more rational, market-based policies.

◦ *Open Alaskan oil exploration.* Even as policy-makers debate energy independence, the United States is sitting

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Archive Photos/Lass

Archaic trucking regulation jacks up the price of freight hauling within state lines.

on what could be billions of barrels of oil. We should drill for it.

The best possibility is Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge (ANWR), an area the size of South Carolina, or 19 million acres. An Interior Department study estimates that a 1.5-million-acre section of ANWR could contain from 600 million to 9.2 billion barrels of recoverable oil. That could make a sizeable dent in U.S. oil imports (which, incidentally, account for 45 percent of the U.S. merchandise trade deficit).

The problem is the possible adverse environmental impact from drilling in ANWR. But that could be minimized. Already the Forest Service supervises oil-and-gas leases in 113 of the nation's 156 national forests. The Fish and Wildlife Service oversees leases in 45 of our National Wildlife Refuges, and the Bureau of Land Management leases several million acres more. Indeed, 20 years of oil exploration in Prudhoe Bay, adjacent to ANWR on Alaska's North Slope, hasn't harmed those famous caribou herds. Neither has the Trans-Alaska Pipeline. On the contrary, the Central Arctic herd has grown from about 3,000 in 1972 to about 15,000 now—this despite the fact that the herd gives birth to most of its young in calving grounds near the Prudhoe Bay oil fields. Besides, the oil companies' activities would affect only 12,000 of the area's 1.5 million acres.

Of course, the *Exxon Valdez* accident looms over all discussions of developing ANWR's immense potential. The Oil Pollution Act of 1990 should make that sort of accident less likely, but we can't entirely avoid the risk. There are risks of tanker spills as well in relying on imported oil.

10) Complete the deregulation of the trucking industry. The Motor Carrier Act of 1980 in large measure deregulated the interstate trucking business. According to one study, that law saved U.S. firms as much as $56 billion annually. But the job is not done, as 42 states still regulate intrastate trucking to consumers' and the economy's detriment.

Take Virginia. To ship a load from Raleigh, North Carolina, to Richmond, Virginia, a 146-mile trip, costs $204. To ship that same load from Danville, Virginia, to Richmond, Virginia, approximately the same distance on interstate highways, costs $539.

Why? Intrastate regulation props up rates. For instance, 31 states ban a company like Frito-Lay, a subsidiary of PepsiCo, from hauling freight for Pepsi-Cola or any other PepsiCo subsidiary. Also, many states ban companies such as Pet, Inc., from leasing trucks and drivers from the same source to haul Pet products. So instead of leasing trucks and drivers from, say, Ryder, Pet has to lease from different firms.

State regulators excuse this waste by arguing that without regulation trucking firms would abandon rural routes. That shouldn't happen. First, the same argument was made against interstate trucking deregulation, and the sky is still up there. Second, UPS, Federal Express, and other firms serve anyone, anywhere. And third, much of the pointless state regulation at issue has nothing to do with serving rural routes.

The economic stakes are very high. Because of interstate trucking deregulation, trucking costs fell from 5.7 percent of GNP in 1980 to 4.9 percent in 1990. A 1986 industry study estimated that eliminating burdensome intrastate trucking regulation could save the economy $87 billion over the next five years.

Both H.R. 4335, a bill introduced by Representative Dennis Hastert (R–IL), and H.R. 4334, introduced by Representatives Pete Geren (D–TX) and William Clinger Jr. (R–PA), would eliminate the most onerous intrastate regulations. Congress and the administration should get rid of those regulations by enacting some version of the legislation.

Wrong Direction

These days people are wondering whether the United States is in an irreversible economic decline. Indeed, it's hard to open a business magazine or attend a congressional hearing without questioning whether the United States can ever again compete against Japan, the European Community, and the emerging economies of the Far East.

Is the United States in decline? Not by a long shot. But the myth of decline excuses attempts to revive discredited notions of government intervention. Congress and the Bush administration are analyzing (and sometimes enacting) a host of proposals to salvage industrial firms by restricting imports, and to help high-technology firms by providing subsidies, and the like.

Our policy-makers are going in the wrong direction. True, the economic growth of the 1980s is but a fond memory, but the United States should be able to regain at least some of its edge by reviving that politically incorrect but effective doctrine: deregulation. If we have learned anything from the abysmal failure of planned economies, it is that we can't make an economy competitive by having the government call the tune. We shouldn't hesitate to apply that lesson's corollary: we make our economy competitive by getting the government out.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

That Old-Time Religion

Why Black Men Are Returning to Church

Tucker Carlson

Samuel Simmons joined the East Side Crips street gang when he was 15 years old. The young black man from south central Los Angeles spent the next 14 years holding up department stores and dealing cocaine. In 1984, Simmons was arrested for robbery and charged with 18 different felonies. He was convicted and spent two and a half years in Folsom Prison.

When Simmons was released his girlfriend convinced him to go to a predominantly black church called Word Harvest Worship Church in Pomona, California. There he met other men with similar backgrounds; he even befriended an ex-member of his rival gang, the Bloods. The church accepted Simmons's past unconditionally. Five years later he is a leader in the church's ministry to children and is an usher during Sunday services. He has a steady job driving buses for handicapped people. "I became a man in the church," Simmons says. "I realized that you can be 30 or 40 years old, but that doesn't make you a man."

In 1987 Simmons married his girlfriend and adopted her two daughters. "Before I joined the church the only woman I respected was my mother; I manipulated women." Simmons says that he now has learned to be a husband to his wife and a father to his children. He believes Word Harvest Worship Church's emphasis on male accountability is largely responsible for his transformation, and agrees with his pastor that only churches, and not the government or schools, can alter the behavior of men in the inner city. Of the turn his life has taken, Simmons says, "It's like night and day. I don't have any desire in my heart to go back where I came from."

Fishers of Men

A revival is underway in American black churches. Samuel Simmons is one of the many black men who are being drawn back to the congregations from which they have been so conspicuously absent for the past 25 years. While American society wonders what to do about the problem of young black males, many black preachers have a plan for reforming them. They believe that churches can achieve something that no other institution or program has yet been able to do: recreate a place in black families for men and, in so doing, give them the self-respect and moral confidence they need to become upstanding members of their communities. Getting black men to church on Sunday may be the single most important step inner-city religious and community leaders can take to reclaim their neighborhoods from decay.

Churches that have been successful in bringing black men onto their membership rolls have three things in common. First, these churches are usually fundamentalist. Whether they are Baptist, Methodist, Catholic, or pentecostal, these churches emphasize an orthodox reading of the Bible. Second, they stress the importance of marriage. These churches teach that marriage is a God-ordained institution, central to Christianity, and that marriage and family hold society together. Third, these churches understand that many black families have fallen apart because relationships between black men and women have become strained by several modern forces. Many women, liberated from dependence on men by welfare and higher-paying jobs, no longer respect their husbands. Many men, freed from responsibility to their wives and children by these same factors, and discouraged by the lack of respect they receive in their households, leave their families. Churches are able to break this pattern, and heal the wounds between men and women by helping black men to reclaim their place in the home.

Alienated Husbands

Black men's church attendance has dropped off dramatically since the mid-1960s. Lawrence Mamiya, professor of religion at Vassar College says, "Black churches have always been fairly dominated by women, but not to the extent that we have seen in the past 25 or 30 years." Black churches in the 1940s, he says, were about 40 percent male. Mamiya believes this began to change as unemployment among blacks rose. As the semi-skilled jobs that had drawn hundreds of thousands of black men from the South to northern industrial centers became scarcer, more black men dropped below the threshold

Tucker Carlson *is assistant editor of* Policy Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AP/Wide World Photos

The average black church in America is 70 percent female.

of the church-going middle class. A study by C. Eric Lincoln of Duke University found that, in 1990, the average black church in America was 70 percent female. In most churches the proportion of women among the members who regularly attend services is even higher. Moreover, women commonly are at the core of the leadership of black churches. Although head ministers are usually male, the charity committees, prayer groups, and Sunday schools are most often led by women.

Lopsided attendance compounds itself. The more feminized churches become, the less men want to join them. As Pastor Diego Mesa of Word Harvest Worship Church puts it, "Men won't come to a church that's mostly women." They will often opt instead to join other organizations where women are institutionally excluded from positions of leadership. Several factors account for the dearth of men in black churches, the most important of which is the attitude many black men have toward preachers.

Black pastors are often viewed with ambivalence by the men in their neighborhoods. Because many black women go to church without their spouses, men often feel threatened by the influence that another man—the minister—has over their wives. According to Pastor Mesa, a man begins to resent ministers when "he realizes that he can't compete with the moral examples set forth by the spiritual leader in his wife's life."

Pastor Michael Williams of Joy Tabernacle in Houston addresses this problem by instructing married women in his church to tell their husbands about the Gospel, and not about him. "Don't go home and talk about me because you'll make me a rival." Pastor Mack Timberlake Jr. of the Christian Faith Center in Creedmoor, North Carolina, also strives to avoid alienating the husbands of women in his church. He believes that his congregation has gone from being overwhelmingly female to over half male in the past 15 years in part because he tells women to talk to their husbands about the church's message, rather than its messenger.

Pastor Ed Smith of Zoe Christian Fellowship in Cerritos, California, goes so far as to call the husbands of women who come alone to his church to allay their fears. He tells them, "I don't want the church to come between you and your wife. If you are fighting over how much time she spends here, please call me and I will send her home." Smith says that every husband he has called has become a member of his church.

Male Role Models

Once churches begin to attract men, they usually experience a rapid growth in attendance. Of the three fastest-growing churches in America—World Changers in College Park, Georgia, Pleasant Grove Missionary Baptist Church in Houston, and West Angeles Church of God in Christ in Los Angeles—all are predominantly black, and all have large percentages of men. Men who come to church seldom come alone. As Keith Echols, assistant pastor of Word of Faith Christian Center in Detroit, says, "When men are in church, their wives and their kids are there with them." Also, because male role models are so rare in many black neighborhoods, unmarried Christian mothers will often go to lengths to bring their children to churches with a sizable percentage of men.

In 1983 Joyce Spence was living in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. A single mother with seven children, she was distraught when her four boys began to get into trouble in their neighborhood. When a friend told her about a church that was nearly half male, she immediately decided to investigate it. She and her children began driving the two hours each way to the church every Sunday. Spence was pleased when men in the congregation started to spend time with her sons, both in and out of church. Nine years later five of her children have gone to college; her two oldest sons are entering graduate school. While many single mothers raise well-adjusted and law-abiding children, there are also many women like Joyce Spence who realize that, without a father around, their sons are more likely to be lured into crime and drugs. According to Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan "approximately 70 percent of juveniles in long-term correctional facilities did not live with their fathers growing up." Black churches with a substantial percentage of men often serve as the only repositories of male role models in their neighborhoods.

"Weak-Handshake Jesus"

According to Wardell Payne of Howard University's Research Center on Black Religious Bodies, "Churches that are currently experiencing growth in male membership tend to have a fundamentalist flavor." The churches attracting men are not usually affiliated with the mainline black Baptist and African Methodist Episcopal denominations, which, like their white counterparts, have tended to adopt a more modern and earthly theology, often known as the "social gospel." Preachers like Calvin Butts of New York's Abyssinian Baptist Church, Henry Gregory of Shiloh Baptist Church in Washington, and Frank Reid III, pastor of Ward A.M.E. Church in Los Angeles embody the shift in many mainline churches from traditional Christianity to social activism; all lead congregations that are primarily female. Despite his popularity, even Martin Luther King Jr. was unable to draw many men to his church, Ebenezer Baptist, with his liberal theology. Sarah Reed, secretary of the church

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

S. Simmons

S. Simmons

Samuel Simmons, before and after. "I became a man in the church," he says.

in Atlanta, Georgia, and a member for 35 years, remembers that when the Reverend King was pastor, the church was less than a quarter male. By contrast, churches that retain an emphasis on orthodox Bible teaching are often half male.

Most of these fundamentalist churches emphasize teaching in their preaching. Their ministers give sermons that sound more like inductive Bible studies than the colorful theatrics that sometimes emanate from black pulpits. The Jesus presented in their sermons is powerful and strong—a carpenter, whose disciples were fishermen—not what Pastor Harry Kilbride of Capitol Hill

"If you think you've got a big hand against your wife, wait until you see God's hand against you. It's bigger."
—Pastor Diego Mesa

Baptist Church in Washington calls the "weak-handshake Jesus" of liberal theology. An emphasis on biblical interpretation, rather than eloquence, helps men overcome their suspicion of preachers. Many men who would otherwise have difficulty following the directives of another man will gladly follow a pastor they believe is teaching God's word.

Claudia A. Butts (no relation to Calvin Butts), assistant for congressional relations at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, is the daughter of one black minister and the wife of another. She says that men are drawn to fundamentalist pastors because the Bible "has a clear-cut definition of what men should be doing."

While welfare and modern society may have muddled and confused men's roles, the Bible is direct. Pastor Waymond Burton of the Christian Faith Center says that the lack of ambiguity in his church is one of the reasons its congregation is more than half men. "The gender roles are not confusing here," he says.

Black churches that successfully attract men also successfully convince men to marry. The Word of Faith Christian Center in Detroit is a typical example. On an average Sunday 45 percent of the 8,000 congregants are men, and about half are married. Down the street a graffiti-covered grocery store advertises "beepers for sale here," yet the congregation is largely free from the scourges of urban life. In the past 10 years, only one graduate of the church's school has become an unwed mother.

Pastor Keith Butler laces his sermons with references to the necessity of marriage. "I don't understand how a 35-year-old man can call himself a born-again Christian and not be married." His church has a singles group that meets biweekly, as Butler puts it, "to help singles meet and get married." He constantly warns his congregation to beware the many threats to the family, namely "television, a godless society, welfare, abortion, and no-fault divorce." The church's youth group and school also teach the value of marriage from an early age. All of this emphasis on marriage bears results; there is almost a wedding a week in the church.

Male Flight from Responsibility

Churches with a high percentage of men invariably address the two main conflicts between black men and women. The first of these is the male flight from responsibility—from work, family, and marriage. The second is the rise in female financial independence that has made many black men feel superfluous.

Most pastors begin to reconcile men and women in their churches by emphasizing a man's duty to his wife and children. "The welfare system is a disgrace," says Pastor Dan Martin of Oak Cliff Bible Fellowship in Dallas, "because it encourages men to abandon their responsibilities in the home." Pastor Keith Butler of Detroit's Word of Faith Christian Center appeals to men's masculinity to illustrate the point. Butler makes a distinction in his sermons between "males" and "men." A male, he says, is anyone who is not female. Even the lowliest crack addict who lives off his girlfriend's welfare check can be called male if he meets this simple criterion. "A man," by contrast, "is someone who spends time with his wife and kids," who has a job, and who supports his family.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Some churches distribute balance sheets to husbands to help them keep their household finances in order. Whatever the method they use to convey it, churches with a strong male presence resonate with a shared theme: men have a duty to care for their families.

Man of the House

Black pastors are moved to this belief by more than just a desire for intact families; they have theological motivations as well. Fundamentalist churches teach that men are ordained by God to be the leaders of their families. They believe that God governs the family directly through the husband, who in turn has the final word in decisions regarding his wife and children. These pastors point to several passages in the Bible as their inspiration. The book of Ephesians states that "as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit to their husbands....However, each one of you also must love his wife as he loves himself." Likewise, 1 Corinthians says, "The head of every man is Christ and the head of the woman is man." Often called the "headship principle," this is a vision of the family that seems remarkably anachronistic to some in the 1990s. Yet many pastors vow it forms the foundation of the answer to the family crisis in America.

Church attendance is the most accurate indicator of whether urban black men will become criminals.

Most fundamentalist pastors go to lengths to explain that the root of male headship is not control, but responsibility. A man's authority in the home is earned rather than organic; he has authority in his family as long as he fulfills his God-given obligations to it. Pastor Diego Mesa describes an ideal marriage as "like the relationship between a four-star general and a five-star general. They are both in charge, but if something goes wrong the five-star general takes more of the blame." Pastor Daniel Haupt of Harvest International Church in Mt. Rainier, Maryland, says that a man must be his family's "servant" before he can be its leader. "The man is ultimately responsible for making sure the needs of his family are met," he says. In return his wife must recognize that responsibility and the authority that comes with it.

Pastors say this principle is effective because it addresses the primary longings of men and women—men's desire for respect and women's desire for love. Men who are respected by their wives and children gain the confidence and the resolve to succeed outside their households. Welfare has sapped many black fathers of their responsibilities to their families and their authority in the home; in many black churches the Bible restores them.

Black pastors who emphasize a husband's authority are sensitive to the criticism that it might encourage men to abuse or dominate women. Preachers invariably teach that a husband must be gentle and kind to his wife. They are unequivocal on the subject of physical abuse. Pastor Daniel Haupt of Maryland tells men, "You're supposed to love your wife as yourself. You wouldn't go and throw yourself in front of cars, would you?" Pastor Diego Mesa is even more direct: "If you think you've got a big hand against your wife, wait until you see God's hand against you. It's bigger."

Unequal Wages

Some of the greatest tensions in black families come because black women often have larger salaries and better educations than black men. In 1989, almost twice as many black women as black men were enrolled in college. In that same year, about one-quarter of black men aged 25 to 34 were not employed. While the black men who were employed full-time made more than their female counterparts, the wage differential between black men and women was much smaller than that between white men and women. Pastor Norris Sydnor Jr. of Riverside Baptist Church in Fort Washington, Maryland, says that "many black men believe that black women have better opportunities than they do, and they resent it." According to Pastor Haupt, black marriages often dissolve because wives nag their husbands for not making as much money as they do. Husbands, in turn, don't feel respected by their more accomplished wives and leave their families. Pastor Sydnor tells women in his congregation to respect their husbands regardless of what they do for a living. "The issue is not how much men make. The Lord doesn't say 'If your husband makes enough, then respect him.'" Pastor Haupt also tells wives to respect their husbands in the home. He uses his own experience to illustrate his point, saying that when he first married, his wife was the family's main breadwinner, earning twice what he did. He says he never allowed the disparity to make him feel insecure because "I always knew I was responsible for my house."

McArthur and Wilma Yellock of Creedmoor, North Carolina, are an example of how fundamentalist pastors use the headship principle to bring equilibrium to marriages destabilized by unequal wages. In December 1979 McArthur Yellock left his wife and resettled in California. After 15 years of marriage Yellock became discouraged because his wife, a registered nurse, earned four times his janitor's salary. Yellock also felt insecure about his lack of a high school education. Wilma, his wife, admits that her husband "didn't live up to my expectations." She nagged him and used her "salary as leverage" in their marriage. When he finally left, his parting words were, "If I can't do enough for you, I won't do anything at all." While her husband was in California, Wilma joined an evangelical church. The pastor explained to her the need to respect her husband without regard to his salary. When her husband called three years later asking to come home, Wilma agreed. Wilma says they have been happily remarried for 10 years, their marriage now balanced by the unconditional respect she gives her husband.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hoods in the Church

One of the most important things black churches can do in their neighborhoods is cut down on crime. Black churches that emphasize the authority and responsibilities of men are more likely to reform criminals. Despite the notorious rate of recidivism among convicts in the general population, black churches with a high percentage of men usually also have a high percentage of former prisoners. Pastor Michael Williams of Houston's Joy Tabernacle says that his congregation "unconditionally accepts" convicted felons; in the past decade alone he has married five of them in his church. It seems that most fundamentalist black churches have at least one elder, usher, or associate pastor who has spent time in prison. These churches are able to recast habitual offenders into model citizens where the government fails because they understand why men commit crimes. Men are attracted to crime and violence above all by the desire for respect: the respect that comes from money, power, and strength. Churches that provide men with respect in non-criminal ways, then, have the most success weaning them from destructive behavior.

Rogers Lee is a good example. Convicted at 18 of a violent crime, Lee spent 12 years in a North Carolina prison. After his release he married and began attending the Christian Faith Center with his wife. Like many black men, Lee assumed church was a place for women. During his first months in church he was unwilling to pray aloud, saying, "Wife, you do the praying for us." Under the teaching of the pastor his attitude changed. Lee overcame what he describes as "a lack of intestinal fortitude" and assumed responsibility for his household. Where before he had turned over his paycheck to his wife and left her to pay the bills, he now took full responsibility for the family's finances. He began helping to raise and discipline his children and leading his family in worship on Sundays. Simultaneously, his marriage improved. Because the pastor was willing to judge Lee by the Biblical description of a leader specified in 1 Timothy—[he]"must be the husband of but one wife and must manage his children and his household well"—and not by his prison record, Lee was appointed an elder in the church. The respect Lee was given in his home and in his church allowed him to forsake his criminal past.

Spiritual Infrastructure

Bringing its men back to church is the answer to many of black America's greatest afflictions. The worst of these problems, crime, has in one way or another engulfed an entire generation of black men. A 1986 study by W. Kip Viscusi of Northwestern University indicated that fully a quarter of the income of young urban black men came from criminal activity. "In some areas of the country it is now more likely for a black male between his 15th and 25th birthday to die from homicide than it was for a United States soldier to be killed on a tour of duty in Vietnam," concludes a 1990 report by the Federal Centers for Disease Control.

The 40,000 black churches in America are uniquely equipped to respond to this blight. While many poor black neighborhoods are without basic stores and services, every one has a church; many have dozens. The infrastructure of churches is already in place in black neighborhoods. Studies by the National Bureau of Economic Research show that church attendance is the most accurate indicator of whether urban black men will become criminals. It is a more important factor in determining criminal activity than whether a man came from a welfare-dependent home, whether his parents were divorced, or whether he grew up in public housing. Richard Freeman, a Harvard economist who conducted the studies, says, "Church-going has a powerful negative effect on socially deviant activity and a positive impact on school attendance." Black men who go to church are less likely to commit crimes, be unemployed, use drugs, or drop out of school.

McArthur and Wilma Yellock. Her pastor's insistence that she respect her husband regardless of his salary saved their marriage.

Civilized Men

Black churches successfully turn men around for three reasons, all of which stand as lessons for government and social service agencies. First, they know that violence, crime, and illegitimacy are rooted in moral, rather than economic, weaknesses. There is no material poverty in the United States so dire that it compels men to rob or riot. Rather, most criminals are spiritual indigents, devoid of any guiding force other than their own appetites. Black pastors try to change men at their core by calling them to personal responsibility and to God.

Second, black churches provide men with incentives to marry. Wives and children are the great civilizers of men. More than law, police, jail, or fear of death, having a family induces men to become good citizens. Black churches do not necessarily rescue men from poverty. More important, they help keep families together.

Finally, black churches understand that men need respect within the home in order to succeed outside the home. And they know that a man must earn this respect—not with his paycheck, but with the content of his character.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Little Green Lies

The Environmental Miseducation of America's Children

Jonathan H. Adler

Some have called it "Eco-Kid Power," while to others it is the "Newest Parental Nightmare." The latest craze sweeping this nation's youth is environmental consciousness, due in no small part to the spread of ecological issues into the classroom. This movement has reached almost every school district in the nation, as children are increasingly taught the importance of being green.

More Pennsylvania high school students are taking environmental education classes than physics. Even the federal government is actively involved. In 1990 President Bush signed the National Environmental Education Act, appropriating $65 million over five years to set up in the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) an Office of Environmental Education that serves as a clearinghouse for green educational materials.

Most classroom environmental information, including most that is listed at the EPA clearinghouse, comes from literature and teaching guides drafted and distributed by the major environmental groups. These materials include everything from the World Wildlife Fund's "Vanishing Rain Forests Education Kit" and the Chesapeake Bay Foundation's "What I Can Do To Save the Bay," to the Acid Rain Foundation's curriculum, "Air Pollutants and Trees," and the Sierra Club educational newsletter, "Sierraecology." Similar material is targeted to children at home, including *50 Simple Things Kids Can Do To Save the Earth*, which has sold nearly a million copies, and TV's popular "Captain Planet and the Planeteers," not to mention the recent feature-length film *FernGully...The Last Rainforest.*

It is entirely appropriate for children to learn about the environment. Indeed, any comprehensive science program for primary and secondary schools ought to include discussions of the food chain, the life cycles of various species, and the fundamentals of meteorology. Using nature trails and camping in the wilderness can be valuable educational experiences, particularly if children are taught to understand what they are seeing. Unfortunately, much of what is taught to children is simple-minded and inaccurate. Among the growing environmental disinformation spread through the classroom are 10 myths that give children an incomplete understanding of environmental issues.

#1: Recycling Is Always Good

The recycling craze has captured America's schools. From coast to coast, children are organizing recycling programs in their schools and neighborhoods, separating their trash, and sending bottles, cans, newspapers, and yard waste to their local recycling centers. Various environmental groups, as well as the EPA through its "Recycle Today!" campaign, actively promote recycling as a means to "help stamp out the Garbage Gremlin." Animated characters such as Henry Cycle and Captain Planet sell the practice to elementary school children.

In one guide for parents and educators—*This Planet Is Mine*—Mary Metzger and Cynthia Whittaker claim that recycling is "by far the most commonsensible and energy-saving waste reduction technique." This sentiment is echoed in the EPA's *Let's Reduce and Recycle: Curriculum for Solid Waste Awareness*, where children in grades K-6 are told that recycling reduces pollution and saves natural resources, energy, money, and landfill space.

While recycling is often a sensible means of disposing solid waste, it is not so clear that recycling is always of benefit to the planet. Aluminum cans have been profitably recycled for years—indeed companies actually pay for used cans—because recycling aluminum costs less energy and money than does producing cans from virgin materials. Yet this may be the exception rather than the rule. Although recycled paper can be used for newsprint, ledger paper, and cardboard boxes, it is inappropriate for paper products that require the greater strength of unrecycled paper, as the fibers tend to deteriorate during the recycling process. The bleaching of recycled paper causes more water pollution than bleaching paper from virgin pulp. Even when materials are collected for recycling, they are often not used for that purpose. In Islip, New York, there are mountains of tinted glass from bottles collected for recycling, and in the nation's capital newspapers intended for recycling sit rotting in warehouses.

Jonathan H. Adler *is an environmental policy analyst at the Competitive Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C., and a contributor to the book,* Environmental Politics: Public Costs, Private Rewards, *published by Praeger.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Children were told during a CBS "Schoolbreak Special" that "recycling paper saves trees," and that if all paper were recycled it would save 500,000 trees per week. However, 87 percent of all paper in the United States is produced from trees planted and grown for that purpose by the paper industry. Were there less of a market for unrecycled paper products, the incentive to plant more trees would likely shrink as well. Thus, is recycling really a policy that serves to save trees? Or, may it actually reverse the current trend of growth of America's forests? Roger Sedjo of Resources for the Future, an environmental think tank, points out that there has been a steady increase in U.S. forestland for the past 40 years, and "profit-seeking firms are planting, growing, and harvesting forests on an unprecedented scale." The existence of vibrant markets for virgin wood materials has encouraged this growth.

What is more, it is not clear that recycling is always the *environmentally* preferable disposal option for solid waste. Cleaning cloth diapers, for example, may at first glance seem less wasteful than throwing out disposables, but collection and sterilization requires massive amounts of water, energy (for heat and transportation), and detergent, not to mention the additional time spent in cleaning. If recycling requires increased consumption of energy, it may not result in the net saving of resources that environmentalists desire.

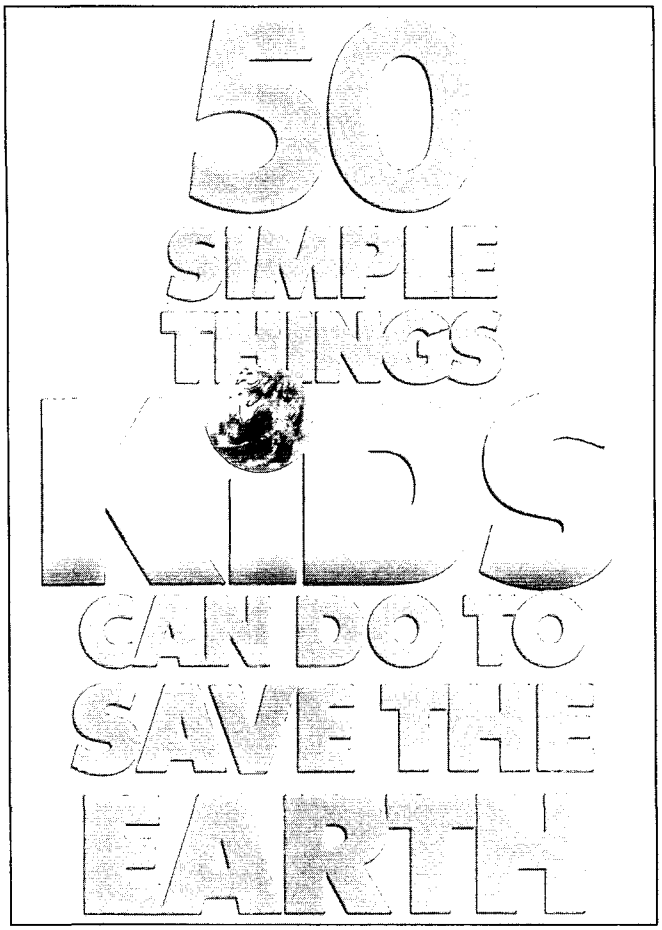
#2: Plastic Is Bad

Plastic has reached the top of the eco-kid enemies list. Among the "55 fun ways kids can make a difference" listed in Michael O'Brian's *I Helped Save the Earth* are: "Use paper, not plastic," "Don't buy drinks in plastic containers," and "Buy things packaged in cardboard, not plastic." *50 Simple Things Kids Can Do To Save the Earth* calls upon all children to "Stamp out Styrofoam" because "using Styrofoam means using up precious resources...and adding more garbage to our world." It further asserts that "plastic foam is often made with chemicals that make the ozone hole bigger!" One New York mother told the *New York Times* that her 12-year-old son's anti-plastic sentiments are so vehement that "If something is in plastic, I have to hide it if I want to use it."

This message has apparently had a significant effect. In Closter, New Jersey, the elementary-school group Kids Against Pollution (KAP) has been credited with successfully promoting a ban on foam containers in their community, and was very active in pressuring McDonald's to abandon its polystyrene "clamshell" containers.

One reason plastics are attacked is that they are often difficult to recycle. In addition, plastics are generally not biodegradable, and perhaps most important, rather than being "natural," are produced synthetically from man-made chemicals. Thus, the use of plastic is viewed as an inevitable source of pollution and an unnecessary contribution to the solid waste stream.

Because they are rarely recycled, most plastic products eventually find their way into a landfill. The greatest environmental concern raised by the use of landfills is the possibility that toxic wastes will seep into the local groundwater. Yet plastics are typically inert, and therefore they are certain not to decompose. The stable state



The EarthWorks Group

The best-seller "50 Simple Things Kids Can Do To Save the Earth" argues against flea collars and flea powders for dogs.

of plastics—their non-biodegradability—is a protection for human health when they are deposited in landfills.

Of course, many kids are upset by the notion that plastics placed by people in the earth today will remain there for centuries. But while plastic does not degrade in a landfill, rarely does anything else either. As the research of William Rathje at the University of Arizona has shown, in landfills, even newspapers fail to biodegrade for decades. What is held against plastic can be a criticism of paper as well.

Children uncomfortable with using plastic might want to ask why its use is so common in contemporary society. Plastic packaging limits breakage and spoilage, and makes it possible to distribute foods and medicines over greater distances at significantly lower cost. Plastic can create strong but lightweight packaging for everything from candies and soft drinks to vitamins and vegetables that would otherwise require tremendous expenditures of natural resources. Do not these benefits offset, at least in part, the environmental concerns about disposal?

Consider aseptic packaging, the synthetic packaging for the "juice boxes" so many children bring to school with their lunch. One criticism of aseptic packaging is that it is nearly impossible to recycle, yet on almost every other count, aseptic packaging is environmentally preferable to the packaging alternatives. Not only do aseptic containers not require refrigeration to keep their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

contents from spoiling, but their manufacture requires less than one-10th the energy of making glass bottles.

What is true for juice boxes is also true for other forms of synthetic packaging. The use of polystyrene, which is commonly (and mistakenly) referred to as "Styrofoam," can reduce food waste dramatically due to its insulating properties. (Thanks to these properties, polystyrene cups are much preferred over paper for that morning cup of coffee.) Polystyrene also requires significantly fewer resources to produce than its paper counterpart. As documented in *Science* magazine, a polystyrene cup can be produced with one-sixth the physical material, one-12th the steam, and one-36th the electricity of its paper counterpart. It is no wonder that polystyrene cups are as much as 60-percent less expensive. It should also be noted that, contrary to popular perceptions, the production of polystyrene has not required the use of chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) for years, and thus poses no threat to the ozone layer.

A high-school text talks of "innovative" population measures developed in China.

The environmental benefits of plastic are demonstrated every day as over a million American students receive their milk from plastic, pillow-shaped pouches that require less material to produce than the conventional mini-milk carton and that create 70 percent less waste by volume. Indeed plastic is typically less bulky than other forms of packaging, and therefore reduces the amount of solid waste disposal.

Many environmental leaders now recognize that the plastic versus paper decision is not as clear-cut as they once supposed. As John Ruston of the Environmental Defense Fund acknowledged to the *New York Times*, "I don't think we have strong evidence that one is better than the other." Nonetheless, anti-plastic messages are still pushed to many school-age children as part of environmental education.

#3: There Is Too Much Garbage

The popular children's book *50 Simple Things Kids Can Do To Save the Earth* declares, "We are making so much garbage that in many places there is not enough room to bury it all." Another EarthWorks publication, *Kid Heroes of the Environment*, claims that "America faces a 'garbage crisis'; we're running out of places to dump our trash." A handbook produced by the Council for Solid Waste Solutions instructs children on how to establish school recycling programs because "overflowing landfills are threatening Mother Earth." In New Hampshire, a teacher's guide produced by the state for Earth Day 1990 calls for students to write to companies complaining about "excess packaging," and the EPA's solid waste curriculum even claims that the growing "garbage crisis" is a problem that "threatens to weaken our cities and consume valuable portions of our natural resource base." Many children's environmental concerns are based upon the underlying assumption that too much waste is being created and that there is no place to put it.

However, there is ample space in which to dispose of America's garbage through landfilling, should such an approach be desired. As the research of A. Clark Wiseman of Resources for the Future has demonstrated, all of the solid waste produced in America in the next 1,000 years could easily fit in a single landfill accounting for less than one-10th of 1 percent of the United States. This landfill would be approximately 44 miles on each side and only 100 feet deep. If there is more than enough space to dispose of America's garbage, can we really say that there is too much trash? Given that landfilling is significantly less expensive than most other disposal options, advocating that landfilling not be used means that more money will be spent on waste disposal, and less will be available to spend on other things. Some communities have even discovered that modern landfills can be a welcome addition to the neighborhood, adding jobs and economic resources without producing the environmental hazards and aesthetic objections that accompanied the dumps of the past.

While landfilling remains an environmentally and economically viable option, other methods of waste disposal are continually being developed. One increasingly attractive approach is the development of "waste-to-energy" facilities, whereby garbage can be turned into a source of energy. As more communities begin to rely upon this approach to waste disposal, garbage will actually become an important commodity. What is more, should landfill space ever truly become scarce, the resulting increase in the costs of waste disposal would encourage individuals to reduce the amount of waste they produce and develop alternative waste disposal options.

It is important to remember that human activity has always involved the production of waste, and that efforts to reduce, or even eliminate, waste must ultimately come at the expense of much human activity. Product packaging may end up in the trash heap, but during its life it also serves important functions, such as the preservation and protection of perishable goods. As long as society has ample ability to dispose of the waste it produces, there seems to be little reason to worry children about a supposed garbage "crisis."

#4: Pesticides Are Always Bad

ABC's for a Better Planet, a children's book featuring the immensely popular Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles, recommends that children "get folks to buy fruits and vegetables that are grown organically—that is, without chemical pesticides. Organically grown stuff may not look as perfect, but it tastes great—and it's good for you." Linda Lowery's *Earth Day*, a book designed for children in grades K-4, asserts, "People don't need to use chemicals on their crops and lawns. There are safer, more natural ways to protect plants and help them grow."

To emphasize concern over pesticides even further, the National Environmental Education Act requires that the EPA annually present a "Rachel Carson Award" in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

honor of the author who first brought fear of pesticides into the mainstream with her 1962 book *Silent Spring.* A biography of Carson is also one of the first in a new series of children's books published by Simon & Schuster's Silver Burdett Press.

While Carson deserves credit for raising awareness of the potentially damaging effects of DDT on eagle and osprey populations, many of the concerns she promoted, such as fear of the risks of pesticide residues on food, are greatly overblown. Metzger and Whittaker's *This Planet Is Mine* tells parents and eco-educators that pesticide use is killing millions of people, and that "children often receive greater pesticide exposure" than adults. However, the path-breaking work of Bruce Ames, a biochemist at the University of California at Berkeley, has demonstrated that pesticide residues on foods, such as fruits and vegetables, pose no significant health risk.

Notes Ames, "99.9 percent of all the pesticides we ingest, by weight, are natural, produced by the fruit and vegetable plants themselves as part of their protective mechanism." This can be seen in many common foods. While "everyone worries about minute amounts of dioxin," Ames has discovered that "there is a lot more of a dioxin-like compound naturally in broccoli than you will ever be exposed to through dioxin contamination in the environment." But, Ames points out, even the higher level of carcinogenic compounds naturally present in foods poses a negligible health risk.

As a result of the scare over Alar—a substance used to strengthen apple stems and prevent apples from falling off the tree prematurely—frightened mothers were calling the EPA to inquire if one could safely pour apple juice down the drain. Yet Alar residues posed no threat to their children. As Rutgers professor Joseph Rosen noted, Alar "has not been identified as the cause of a single childhood cancer." In fact, according to Dr. Sanford Miller, dean of the University of Texas Health Science Center's Graduate School of Biomedical Science, "The risk of pesticide residues to consumers is effectively zero." As he told the late columnist Warren Brookes, "This is what some 14 scientific societies, representing over 100,000 microbiologists, toxicologists, and food scientists, said at the time of the ridiculous Alar scare. But we were ignored."

While pesticide residues pose no appreciable threat to human health, Ames has noted that the probable impact of efforts to limit pesticide use "will be to *raise* cancer risks, because it will cut consumption of the very foods most beneficial in preventing cancer." Pesticides, including those compounds used to fight insects, weeds, and fungi, increase agricultural productivity and help to prevent food spoilage. The result is that fruits and vegetables are more readily available to consumers at lower prices. And, pesticide-assisted increases in agricultural efficiency have enabled farmers to produce more food while devoting less land to agriculture. Fewer trees are cut down, and fewer wetlands are filled to meet increases in food demand.

#5: Acid Rain Is Destroying Our Forests

The Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles tell our children that "'acid rain' pollutes rivers and kills fish and trees."

TBS Productions

Environmental misinformation in the classroom is reinforced by popular television shows such as "Captain Planet and the Planeteers."

50 Simple Things claims, "Acid rain is extremely harmful to plants, rivers, and lakes,...In some places it is killing forests. And it pollutes the water that animals and people need to drink." The EPA lists the Acid Rain Foundation as a source of educational materials in its booklet "Environmental Education Materials for Teachers and Young People (Grades K-12)." Materials provided include acid rain educational activities for grades 4-8 and a curriculum for grades 6-12 that repeat these charges time and time again.

Similar information is available from other sources as well. The children's comic book *Water In Your Hands,* published by the Soil and Water Conservation Society and distributed by the federal government, claims, "Acid precipitation can harm plants on land as well as plants and animals that live in streams and lakes thousands of miles from the source of pollution. Already there are many lakes in which only a few things can live because of high acid levels." The proposed solution is for people to use less energy. They should drive less and "use less electricity. The less you use, the less coal-burning power plants must produce. That may mean less acid precipitation."

The curricula state correctly that many trees are dying in the eastern United States, that northeastern lakes and streams have fewer trout and other sport fish than they did earlier this century, and that burning fossil fuels can make rain more acidic. But a $700-million study commis-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sioned by Congress, the National Acid Precipitation Assessment Program (NAPAP), concluded that acid rain is not a major source of problems in eastern forests and fisheries.

On the contrary, the nitrogen contained in acid rain actually helps much of the eastern forest by providing a necessary nutrient. It also turns out that most acid lakes in the Northeast have been acidic for most of their history. Fish could live in them temporarily when the clearing of forests for farming and paper pulp made watersheds more alkaline; but the watersheds returned to their natural acidity when the farms and dairies became uneconomic and the forests grew back. NAPAP determined that little damage could be attributed to acid rain in the United States, and even then only at very high altitudes in a few small areas. (The minor effects of acid rain on this continent, and the history of lake acidity in the United States, were explained by soil scientist Edward C. Krug in "Fish Story" in the Spring 1990 issue of *Policy Review*.)

#6: We Use Too Much

Last year the *New York Times* ran a story on the "Newest Parental Nightmare," the "eco-smart" child who constantly pesters his parents to use less and "conserve" energy, for one day we might run out. This pressure results in part from school materials such as the EPA children's activity books on water conservation, which proclaim, "We need to save water! This is also called

"She's harassing me, that child. If I leave the water on when I'm brushing my teeth, she yells at me."

'conserving' water—not wasting it so we'll have enough for the future!" The TV special based upon *50 Simple Things* told children, "Turn down the heat and put on a sweater" because that is a more efficient use of resources. Muppets Kermit the Frog and Miss Piggy were enlisted to promote this message, appearing in a public service announcement for the National Wildlife Federation.

Children are taught to monitor the "wasteful" activities of their parents. As Dee Kloss told the *Philadelphia Inquirer* about her eight-year-old eco-conscious daughter, "She's harassing me, that child. If I leave the water on when I'm brushing my teeth, she yells at me. She says, 'Off, off, off. You're wasting that water.'" Ironically, some health groups actually recommend letting tap water run for a full minute before using due to concern over lead or other potentially toxic sediments.

Unfortunately, this effort to watchdog water use reflects a simplistic view of natural resources. Water in the United States will not "run out," although it may be misallocated. In almost all cases, water shortages have occurred as a result of political intervention; California's problems can be attributed, for example, to artificially low water prices for agricultural use. As for energy, oil and natural gas prices are at their lowest price in decades, a clear sign that fossil fuel supplies are abundant. The price of a resource rises when it becomes more scarce. But the prices for the vast majority of non-renewable resources—from aluminum to zinc—have declined over the past century.

Even if a given resource were to become scarce, this would not be the end of the world. Its price would rise, and the economy would promote increased efficiency and the development of alternatives. Thus, it is understandable that 80 percent of the energy efficiency improvements in the United States between 1973 and 1988 were the result of increases in energy prices. Fears of an impending coal shortage in England not only spurred the development of more efficient technologies, but also encouraged coal's eventual displacement by the use of petroleum. Similarly, when whale oil scarcity drove up prices, entrepreneurs were prompted to develop refined petroleum as a substitute for lighting and other uses.

In the case of energy, the goal should not be "conservation" in the sense of simply using less but "efficiency"—using less to accomplish more. Otherwise, reducing energy use would require sacrificing personal mobility, autonomy, and living standards. Any serious effort to reduce personal consumption would require giving up various human activities, from transportation of people and resources, to heating, lighting, and cooking. Driving to and from school or the office may burn fuel, but it often saves time that can then be devoted to other important activities. Almost all efforts to enhance energy efficiency involve trading capital expenditures in the present for potential energy savings in the future. These trade-offs are inherent in any serious effort to reduce the use of energy, and must always be considered. Nevertheless, they are rarely discussed in the classroom.

#7: There Are Too Many People

As population continues to increase, so will the human impact on the natural environment. More people on the planet means that more people are engaged in activities that shape the world around them. As a result, children are taught, the earth faces dire ecological consequences, from resource depletion to famine and extinction. From the EPA's *Earth Notes*—sent to educators for grades K-6—to the educational materials such as "For Earth's Sake" and "The Population Challenge" of Zero Population Growth, educational materials on population growth are becoming part and parcel of the environmental curriculum.

One educational guide, distributed in conjunction with Turner Broadcasting's "Save the Earth Season," provides a worksheet in which the students' "ultimate goal is protecting the environment through population control." A high-school text published by Addison-Wesley even talks of the "innovative" population measures developed in the People's Republic of China, a country known for coercive abortions and draconian laws limiting family size.

Some educational messages are more explicit in their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

advocacy of population control. *This Planet Is Mine* instructs educators to tell children that population growth will cause severe environmental problems "unless the use of birth control methods increases." In suggested activities, educators should "talk about what would happen to the planet if all the people in the world created large families generation after generation." Captain Planet and the Planeteers also tell children, "When it's your turn to have a family, keep it small. The more people there are the more pressure you put on our planet." The population message is summed up well by a "Green Tip" published in the daily Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles comic strip: "The world grows by 95 million people each year; the U.S. by three million. We can help greatly by all having fewer children and considering adoption." The TBS children's special "One Child—One Voice" claims that population growth is causing the growth of the Sahara Desert in Africa, ignoring *Science* magazine's reports that the desert has actually been shrinking in recent years, and that its growth may have been more the result of climatic conditions than population-related pressures.

If population growth is such a dire threat, why are living standards worldwide increasing concurrently with increases in the world's population? Even in the Third World, increases in agricultural production typically outpace population growth. If it is true that a continually expanding population will overcome the limits of world food supply, why then is most of the world experiencing increases in agricultural productivity that far outpace the increases in people? There are indeed areas that continue to experience famine, but more often than not these areas are in the throes of civil war and violent unrest that disrupt the distribution of food. It should be no wonder that in nations with totalitarian regimes, such as that recently deposed in Ethiopia, there were also shortages of food. But these shortages were more the result of political problems than they were of a deficiency in the world supply of food.

Moreover, children are rarely taught that as societies become more prosperous, population growth eventually slows and resources are used more efficiently with less environmental damage.

#8: The Air Is Getting Worse

A common refrain on air pollution in school materials is that "the problems are here and they are growing at an alarming rate" (*This Planet Is Mine*). *50 Simple Things* claims, "Today the air is so polluted in some places it's not always safe to breathe!" whereas "until about 150 years ago, the air was pure and clean." This sentiment is echoed in a Charlie Brown film produced for the American Lung Association with a grant from the EPA. In the film, the air is so polluted that Lucy cannot even see a baseball hit into the air due to a great cloud of smog.

There is little recognition in school curricula that, by most measurements, air quality is actually improving. According to the EPA's own data, levels of ground-level ozone, the pollutant known as "smog," are declining significantly in most urban areas. Even were ozone levels not declining, there is little evidence that the moderate

Environmental Protection Agency

Recycling is promoted in schools without any regard to its economic and environmental costs.

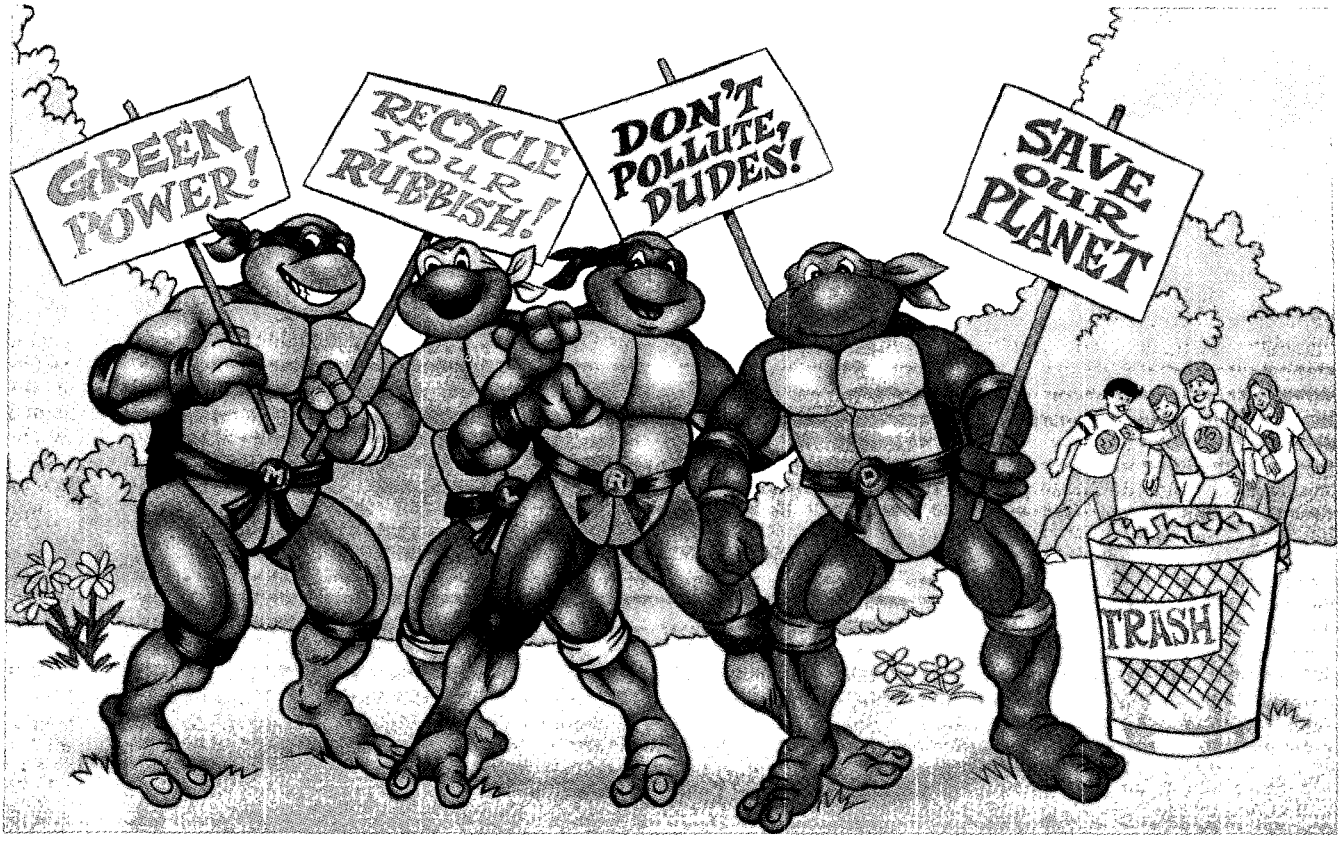
levels found in most cities are responsible for any long-term health effects.

The Virginia Department of Air Pollution Control's "Airy Canary" has trouble flying because of "Dastardly Dirt" created by increased industrial and commercial activity. Yet after initial industrialization, economic growth typically results in decreases of airborne particulates, the form of air pollution with the most significant health effects. Particulate concentrations in such cities as Tehran and Calcutta are almost 10 times greater than those found in New York. As Resources for the Future vice president Paul Portney has noted, "It is important to remember that cities in the United States that are relatively polluted by our standards might be considered quite clean in other parts of the world." This is particularly true when compared with the cities of the former Soviet Union.

While children are taught to dislike automobiles, they are not told that not all cars pollute equally, or that in most cases the contributions of individual vehicle emissions are negligible. Much air pollution is the result of incomplete fuel combustion. As technology has improved over time, cars have naturally become more efficient and have thus polluted less. While many give full credit to federal laws for these gains, reductions in automobile emissions began well before the first national clean air legislation was enacted.

Another source of air pollution that is often overlooked is the natural environment. While air pollution is almost always blamed upon human activity, in some areas most of the pollution comes from natural sources.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Random House

The Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles tell children, "The ozone layer is getting thinner each year."

Particularly acute in some areas is the emission of methane and other volatile organic compounds—a primary component in the formation of smog—from plants and animals. In addition, the topography of some areas makes them natural air-pollution traps. As a result, cities located in valleys or depressions, such as Los Angeles, often suffer from greater pollution than those areas where there may actually be greater levels of emissions.

#9: Global Warming Will Kill Us All

Topping the list of environmental concerns these days is the threat of global warming. Increasing concentrations of carbon dioxide, methane, and other greenhouse gases, it is argued, will cause an irreversible change in the earth's climate by increasing average world temperatures by several degrees. Thus, it should be no surprise that discussions of global warming have become very prominent in the classroom. "Beat the Heat: The CO_2 Challenge," distributed to teachers by Scholastic, Inc., charges that "the world is hotter today than any time in recorded history," but fails to acknowledge that the "recorded history" of accurate temperatures barely extends back 100 years.

In *The Greenhouse Effect: Life on a Warmer Planet*, an educational text for grades 5 and up—praised by the *School Library Journal* as "a book that is especially noteworthy for its calm, balanced approach to a timely topic"—children are told:

> It's frightening to think about the world's food reserves dwindling away or entire islands disappearing under rising seas. Yet this is what scientists predict our world could be like in the next century if greenhouse gases continue to build up in the atmosphere.

Following the initial broadcast on PBS of *After the Warming*, the show's producer, Maryland Public Television, drafted a teachers' manual as if the program—which chronicled the "history" of environmental degradation to the year 2050—was based upon fact, rather than exaggerated assumptions and unfounded conjecture. The TBS children's special "One Child—One Voice" claimed that the greenhouse effect could increase temperatures by as much as 5 or 6 degrees. The American Museum of Natural History, in conjunction with the National Science Foundation and the Environmental Defense Fund, is promoting a series of educational activities and programs based upon its exhibit "Global Warming: Understanding the Forecast." Educational books like *50 Simple Things* tell children that with the greenhouse effect "places that are warm would become too hot to live in, and...the places that grow most of our food could get too hot to grow crops anymore." Simply put, global warming is portrayed in the classroom as a threat to all human civilization.

While these arguments are put forward as scientific fact in the classroom, various polls of climate scientists indicate little consensus on how the climate will change over the next century or the relationship between human activity and these changes. On the need for urgent action by the United States, there is even less agreement. In fact, one poll of climate scientists conducted by Green-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

peace found that fewer scientists (45 percent) believed action was necessary to avert a "runaway greenhouse effect" than those who felt otherwise (47 percent).

Even if the world does warm up, the higher temperatures could well be beneficial. There is much research to show that plants would thrive in a carbon-dioxide enriched atmosphere, and that a slightly warmer climate would create a healthier planet. Agricultural experts point out that because carbon dioxide acts as a fertilizer for most plants, increasing concentrations of carbon dioxide will increase agricultural productivity. Also, most of the recorded temperature increases in recent years have occurred at night, meaning smaller swings between night and day temperatures, and thus, fewer killing frosts.

Any serious effort to reduce the claimed threat of warming through a massive reduction of greenhouse gas emissions would have drastic economic consequences. One recent study by the Department of Energy projects that reducing carbon dioxide emissions to only 20 percent below 1990 levels would cost as much as $95 billion each year—and for many environmental advocates, such reductions are only the first step. When massive expenditures are forcibly directed toward averting global warming, fewer resources are available for use in other sectors of the economy, from nutrition and education to health care and housing. As Richard Stroup of the Political Economy Research Center testified before Congress's Joint Economic Committee, "If 'insurance' against a particular risk, such as the threat of global warming, is bought at the cost of reduced economic growth, then a decline in the automatic insurance represented by wealth, and the social resilience it provides, is one of the costs borne by future generations." These costs of prevention are rarely accounted for in classroom calls for decisive action. Instead, children are exhorted to become politically involved.

For example, children were encouraged to write to President Bush to attend the United Nations "Earth Summit" in Rio de Janeiro, where global climate change was at the top of the agenda. The TBS "Save the Earth" series, which included an episode of the popular cartoon "Captain Planet and the Planeteers" on the need to go to Rio, was in large part an effort to mobilize impressionable youth for this politically popular cause through the use of children's programming, "action packs," and educational materials.

#10: The Ozone Layer Is Going, and So Are We

The other global environmental threat that keeps children awake at night is the fear that human activity is destroying the ozone layer, exposing humans—and for that matter all types of flora and fauna—to hazardous levels of solar radiation. The Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles tell children, "The ozone layer protects us from the sun's deadly radiation...but the ozone layer is getting thinner each year." According to *This Planet Is Mine*, ozone depletion will cause "DNA damage and resultant genetic defects." Moreover, "Ultraviolet rays also contribute to the dramatic increase we have seen in skin cancers, eye cataracts,...and impair the human immune system, reducing our ability to fight disease." In a recent debate on the Senate floor, Senator Albert Gore intoned, "We have to tell our children that they must redefine their relationship to the sky, and they must begin to think of the sky as a threatening part of their environment."

Children are rarely told that the ozone layer naturally thins and accretes every year in a seasonal cycle that is controlled by the sun. Manmade chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) are blamed for ozone depletion, while natural sources of ozone-depleting substances (for example, the oceans and volcanos) are typically overlooked. Although chlorine molecules can contribute to ozone depletion, Linwood Callis of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Atmospheric Sciences Division charges that "73 percent of the global [ozone] declines between 1979 and 1985 are due to natural effects related to solar variability." While such claims are not universally accepted in the scientific community, it is clear that children are only getting a small part of a very complex story—a story that hardly justifies fears of an impending apocalypse.

> The air is so polluted in a Charlie Brown film that Lucy cannot even see a baseball hit into the air.

Contrary to what is being taught, the marginal ozone depletion that may be caused by CFCs would only result in marginal increases in UV-B radiation. For example, if 10 percent (a common estimate of the maximum potential ozone decline) of the ozone layer above Washington, D.C., disappeared tomorrow, radiation levels would only increase to approximately those typically found in Richmond, Virginia, almost 100 miles south. In fact, natural levels of UV-B rise rapidly as one approaches the equator or moves higher above sea level. Someone living in Denver receives significantly more UV-B exposure than a person in Minneapolis, but this is hardly cited as a reason not to move to the "mile-high city." It also must be noted that there is some inconclusive evidence that atmospheric ozone levels in the 1980s were higher than those in the 1950s.

The school materials also typically fail to explain the important human benefits that have resulted from the use of CFCs. For example, these chemicals have helped save millions of lives through making available to the peoples of the world inexpensive refrigeration for food and medicine. As with many environmental crusades, the drive to eliminate CFCs, even if potentially justified, involves trade-offs that children should be taught as well.

Toward a Better Shade of Green

While environmentalism is likely to be a mainstay of education in the years to come, this does not mean that America's children are to be condemned to curricula of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

half-truths and political advocacy. Instead, children can, and should, be taught facts, not conjecture, and they should learn the whole story, including how an environmental concern fits into the greater ecological and economic context. Rather than impressing upon children the need for political advocacy, children should be encouraged to think of their own solutions after all the facts have been presented. If water use is an issue, a child should learn about the hydrological cycle; if the concern is solid waste, a child should learn where paper comes from and where it may eventually go. At that point it might be profitable for a schoolchild to hypothesize about how public or private action might address the concerns raised about a given issue. Children should not be told by their teachers that they should sign petitions, endorse political agendas, or write pleading letters to the president.

Children need to understand that modern activities do not cause only "negatives" and that all efforts to alleviate environmental impact are purely "positive." Children need to be taught that there are trade-offs implicit in every environmental issue. Recycling paper may reduce the logging of trees (although they are indeed a renewable resource), but it may increase the use of energy and water. Banning CFCs may theoretically affect the levels of stratospheric ozone, but it would restrict the availability of refrigeration needed to preserve food and medicine in the Third World.

Children also need to learn environmental issues in a balanced manner. If there is scientific uncertainty on the likelihood and probable impact of global climate change it is wholly inappropriate to scare children by telling them their parents are destroying the earth. Environmental regulations can often have significant impacts upon regional and national economies, yet wealthier societies are not only healthier, but also more likely to be concerned about the environment. This, too, should be an important consideration.

Environmental education can be a valuable addition to school curricula, but only if it is conducted in a careful, thoughtful, and non-ideological manner. After all, schools are for education, not political indoctrination. If educators approach environmental issues in such a balanced fashion, our children might not turn out politically correct, but at least they will be much more "eco-smart." ☎

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Difference of Opinion

Reagan/Bush Judges vs. Their Predecessors

Daniel E. Troy

The most important difference between George Bush and Bill Clinton, and between the national Republican and Democratic Parties, is in their views of the proper role of the judiciary. Democrats hearken back to the halcyon days when the Warren Court ensured that the political process produced "liberal" results. To them, judges are primarily political decision-makers in robes, and they want liberal judges who will produce liberal results. Ross Perot's view of the matter is not yet clear.

By contrast, Republicans contend that judges should be non-political, and should apply the law as neutrally as possible. In making this argument, they have assumed the mantle of the New Deal liberals, who once argued that the "Nine Old Men" on the conservative activist Supreme Court of the 1920s should defer to the legislature unless they had a clear warrant in the Constitution for overturning the majority's decisions.

Judicial appointments are one area of great continuity between the Reagan and Bush administrations. To Reagan/Bush judges, law should be divorced from politics; the decision about what the law *should* say is reserved for the legislature, while the job of a judge is to decide only what the law *does* say.

Most public discussion of the Reagan/Bush judiciary has focused on the Supreme Court, with special attention going to the confirmation hearings of Robert H. Bork and Clarence Thomas. It is frequently said that the Supreme Court is now extremely "conservative," and that it is turning back the clock on individual and civil rights.

Whether or not this critique is correct depends upon one's definition of "conservative." If a "conservative" is defined as a non-liberal, non-activist judge who defers to the will of the majority where the Constitution does not specifically and clearly constrain the legislature's authority, the Reagan/Bush Supreme Court is without question more conservative. If, on the other hand, a conservative is said to be a right-wing activist who reads conservative or libertarian values into the Constitution, the Reagan/Bush Supreme Court is decidedly not conservative.

Rather, the Reagan/Bush majority on the Supreme Court, which is only now emerging, is truly centrist in that it more often defers to legislative and executive determinations, whether those acts are liberal or conservative. The confusion that arises from trying to apply these policy-laden terms to the judiciary is one of the main reasons Reagan/Bush judges frame the debate as being about whether or not judges should be political.

Braking Circuits

For a variety of reasons, however, the Supreme Court is not the best place to evaluate the philosophy of Reagan/Bush judges. Because there are nine justices on the Supreme Court, each of whom must be confirmed by the Senate, change on the Supreme Court comes slowly. To alter a court of nine takes time. This past term represents the first in which a majority of judges have been appointed by Presidents Reagan and Bush. For most of the 1980s, non-Reagan/Bush judges remained able to cobble together a majority for the occasional expansive interpretation of the Constitution. For example, in 1987, the Supreme Court decided for the first time that jury consideration of victim-impact statements in a capital case violated the Eighth Amendment's proscription against cruel and unusual punishment (*Booth* v. *Maryland*, 1987). The Supreme Court reaffirmed that decision two years later, in *South Carolina* v. *Gathers* (1989). This intensely controversial decision was finally overturned only last year, in *Payne* v. *Tennessee* (1991).

In addition, politics, a Democratic-controlled Senate, and the intense scrutiny accorded Supreme Court appointees affected, and moderated, the appointments of Presidents Reagan and Bush to the Supreme Court. The most obvious example, of course, is the Senate's rejection of Judge Bork's nomination. Another is President Bush's choice of David Souter, who was chosen, at least in part, to avoid controversy.

By contrast, President Reagan's appointments to the federal courts of appeals had an immediate effect. (These courts, which are arranged regionally and which

Daniel E. Troy *is with the Washington, D.C., law firm of Wiley, Rein & Fielding. He previously served in the Department of Justice's Office of Legal Counsel and clerked for Judge Robert H. Bork of the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Star Ledger

A Reagan-appointed judge overturned a ruling by a Carter appointee that Richard Kreimer (shown above) couldn't be expelled from a public library even though his odor was driving away other patrons.

have varying numbers of judges, are frequently referred to as "circuit" courts of appeal, because in colonial times an appellate judge would ride "circuit" to several locations to hold court.) Since the federal courts of appeals sit in panels of three, two new judges on a circuit can make an enormous difference. By the mid-1980s enough Reagan judges occupied the federal courts of appeals to enable a distinct philosophy of judging to emerge.

Also, as of May 1992, Presidents Reagan and Bush had named a combined number of 93 judges (or 62 percent) to the 12 federal courts of appeals. They had relatively free rein in making most of these appointments, because few non-lawyers outside the Washington Beltway pay much attention to the judges and opinions of these courts. Finally, these courts still have enough Carter appointees to make up the occasional majority, and they review the decisions of federal district courts, who are often Democratic appointees. This makes for a very clear contrast between those decisions and the opinions by panels of Reagan/Bush judges. For all these reasons, examining the decisions of the federal courts of appeals can tell us more about the philosophy of Reagan/Bush judges than can the opinions of the Supreme Court.

A brief examination of representative decisions in the federal courts of appeals in five important areas of federal law—First Amendment, criminal, civil rights, administrative, and antitrust—clearly illustrates the profound effect Reagan/Bush judges have had on the way federal courts decide cases. Except in criminal law, these judges have not generally overturned past precedent. They have thus followed the principle of *stare decisis*, or adhering to previous decisions. While the issue of reversing precedent is mainly the concern of the Supreme Court, each circuit establishes its own case law as well. Rather than change course abruptly, Reagan/Bush judges have more frequently refused to extend prior activist decisions to achieve "liberal"—and non-majoritarian—results.

Liberty's Fragrance

A recent case involving a First Amendment claim demonstrates some of the key differences in focus between Reagan/Bush appointees and their immediate predecessors. Richard R. Kreimer, a homeless man, had been expelled from the Morristown (New Jersey) Public Library at least five times. His odor was so offensive that it drove people from the library. He would frequently stare at the women librarians intensely, and was said, on occasion, to act in a "belligerent and hostile" manner.

The library adopted a written code of conduct to deal with this problem. That code required patrons to engage in "activities associated with the use of a public library while in the building" and "patrons whose bodily odor is offensive so as to constitute a nuisance to other persons...to leave the building." With the help of the New Jersey branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, Kreimer challenged these regulations.

Relying on a case upholding the right of African-Americans to enter a whites-only library to protest discrimination, District Judge H. Lee Sarokin—who was appointed by Jimmy Carter—struck down each of the library's regulations as unconstitutional, improperly vague, and overly broad. His bottom line: "If we wish to shield our eyes and noses from the homeless, we should revoke their condition, not their library cards" (*Kreimer* v. *Bureau of Police for the Town of Morristown*, D.N.J., 1991).

Reagan-appointee Judge Morton Greenberg wrote the majority opinion for the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, which reversed Judge Sarokin's decision. The Reagan appointee accepted the district court's underlying proposition that the First Amendment protects the right to receive information, but disagreed with the Carter appointee's conclusion that the city did not have good enough reasons to impose its rules. To Judge Greenberg, the rule "[r]equiring that its patrons make use of the library in order to be permitted to remain there is a reasonable means to achieve th[e] end" of a "quiet and orderly atmosphere."

Judge Greenberg also recognized the "significant interest in ensuring that all patrons of the library can use its facilities to the maximum extent possible during its regularly scheduled hours." This goal, he held, was served by the regulation requiring that the library's patrons "have non-offensive bodily hygiene, as this rule prohibits one patron from unreasonably interfering with other patrons' use and enjoyment of the library." Notwithstanding Judge Greenberg's vindication of the library's right to exclude Kreimer, the town and library paid Kreimer $230,000, to avoid further litigation.

Kreimer illustrates a point that was heatedly debated at Judge Bork's confirmation hearings. Judge Bork maintained that "what a court adds to one person's constitutional rights, it subtracts from the rights of others." A troubled Senator Paul Simon replied that: "I have long thought that it is fundamental in our society, that when you expand the liberty of any of us, you expand the liberty of all of us." The *Kreimer* decision takes Bork's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

view that judges are sometimes forced to choose between the interests of the many, aggregated together into a community, and the interests of an individual. Thus, they have to balance the interests of the many mothers who want to send their children to the library without having them subjected to a disturbed homeless man, for example, against the First Amendment right of that man to receive information through the library. Under those circumstances, "adding to" Kreimer's constitutional rights would have "subtracted from" the rights of others to use the library undisturbed. On the whole, in these types of cases, Reagan/Bush appointees tend to favor the interests of the community somewhat more than their "liberal" colleagues.

A Tale of Two Death Sentences

Perhaps the starkest examples of the greater sensitivity of the Reagan/Bush judges to community needs relates to the rights and remedies accorded criminals and criminal defendants. The difference between the approaches of the Carter and Reagan/Bush appointees is perhaps best illustrated by comparing how two different federal courts of appeals—the Fifth and the Ninth Circuits—decided strikingly similar cases involving attempts by convicted criminals to overturn their death sentences.

The Ninth Circuit, which covers California and much of the West, is generally considered the most "liberal" of the federal circuit courts of appeals. Of its 28 judges, 14 are non-Reagan/Bush appointees; 12 were named by President Carter, giving it the highest number (and third-highest percentage) of non-Reagan/Bush appointees. By contrast, the Fifth Circuit, which covers Texas, Louisiana, and Mississippi, is considered the most "conservative" on criminal law issues. Eleven of its 13 judges are Reagan/Bush appointees.

In 1978, Henry Deutscher was found guilty of murdering a 37-year-old woman in Nevada. His victim had been found nude except for a blouse and a pulled-open bra, with blood between her legs, bites on her breasts and abdomen, and severe abrasions around her neck, face, and head. All of her injuries had been inflicted while she was still alive.

Robert Sawyer had returned home drunk one night in 1979 and got into a violent argument with a female houseguest. He beat her, scalded her with boiling water, and finally burned her unconscious body with lighter fluid. She died a few weeks later. A Louisiana jury found him guilty of murder.

Deutscher and Sawyer were each condemned to die. After exhausting their appeals in the state courts, Deutscher and Sawyer turned to the federal courts for relief. Each filed for a writ of *habeas corpus* ("you have the body"), which allows a prisoner convicted under state law to "collaterally attack" his conviction on the grounds that it did not comport with federal law. In both cases, their first *habeas* petitions were denied.

Early in the 20th century, the writ of *habeas corpus* was often used by federal courts to overturn state court convictions tainted by racial prejudice and other especially egregious violations of individual rights. Over the past three decades, though, the writ has been frequently resorted to by prisoners who have filed motion after motion seeking to overturn their conviction or, in the case of death row inmates, to delay a sentence of capital punishment (as in the recent case of the executed prisoner Robert Alton Harris). These repeated appeals have clogged the federal courts and have created the perception that the system cannot administer swift and sure justice.

Endless Appeals

Reagan/Bush judges have been relatively consistent in their attempts to limit these petitions while their predecessors have sought to keep the process open-ended. After their first *habeas* petitions were denied, Deutscher and Sawyer each filed second petitions raising an entirely new claim. They contended that their counsel had been constitutionally inadequate because their lawyers had failed to present evidence that each had been of diminished mental capacity, and thus they could not properly be sentenced to death. Last year the Fifth and the Ninth Circuits each had to decide whether to entertain the successive petitions, given the prisoners' earlier failure to state the claim.

The two circuits had to make this decision in the light of *McClesky* v. *Zant*, a Supreme Court ruling earlier in 1991 that held that prisoners must present all federal claims available to them in their first *habeas* petition. Later petitions stating new grounds for reversing their convictions would be entertained in only two circumstances. First, a prisoner could show "cause and prejudice"—that there was a good reason for failing to raise the claim earlier and that he had been harmed by that failure. Second, in the "extraordinary instance when a constitutional violation probably has caused the conviction of one innocent of the crime," another petition could be heard to avoid a "fundamental miscarriage of justice."

Circuit courts offer the sharpest contrast between Reagan/Bush judges and their predecessors.

In *Deutscher* v. *Whitley* two Carter appointees on the Ninth Circuit seized on the statement in *McClesky* that a *habeas* writ could be issued where necessary to avoid a "fundamental miscarriage of justice." Relying on phrases such as "fundamental fairness" and a "civilized society," these two judges overturned Deutscher's death sentence and remanded the case for resentencing. To them, because "Deutscher's counsel was constitutionally deficient, no mitigating evidence was presented at trial." Had such evidence been proffered, they posited, the jury would have seen the case differently:

> Had Deutscher been competently represented,...Deutscher's family would have testified

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that Deutscher suffered fetal injury and was born prematurely due to a beating his mother received from his father, that Deutscher's father beat and occasionally seriously injured Deutscher, and that Deutscher was often beaten while trying to protect his mother and sisters.

Reagan-appointee Cynthia Holcombe Hall, in dissent, strongly disagreed with the majority's decision that Deutscher was "'actually innocent' of the death penalty." (This is the awkward way courts have of saying that a prisoner should not have been sentenced to death, even though they were properly convicted of the crime.) Reviewing the "grisly and barbaric" details of the crime, Judge Hall concluded that "I cannot honestly believe that Deutscher will not again be sentenced to death by the next jury he faces." She criticized the majority for ignoring the teaching of *McClesky*, which requires a convicted criminal to "demonstrate that he is actually innocent either of the crime or the death penalty" before "he may find relief in the federal courts."

By contrast to the *Deutscher* majority, the Fifth Circuit in *Sawyer* v. *Whitley* followed the Supreme Court's statement in *McClesky* that the court should not rehear a case except to avoid a "fundamental miscarriage of justice." This exception, the court held, should be applied only where the criminal is able to demonstrate, "under all the evidence that arguably should have been presented, that the jury would not have been authorized to sentence him to death." The Fifth Circuit went further, and questioned the whole idea of applying the "actual innocence" exception to the sentence, rather than just to the crime itself. In any event, because Sawyer had not shown that the jury acted improperly by sentencing him to death, the Fifth Circuit refused to interfere with his sentence.

The details of these cases exemplify the effects of Reagan/Bush judges on the federal courts, and the continuing struggle between Reagan/Bush appointees and their more "liberal" colleagues. Judges subscribing to a more "activist" conception of the role of courts believe, in the words of the late Kennedy-appointee Judge J. Skelly Wright, that the job of a judge is to "do good" as they see it. In the specific case of the death penalty, this frequently means that these "activist" judges will try to stop executions, which many of them think are wrong. Reagan/Bush judges, on the other hand, are more likely to defer to the choices of elected representatives and allow death sentences to go forward.

Racial and Sexual Favoritism

Two recent challenges to the Federal Communications Commission's policy of according preferences based on race or sex illustrate the profound differences between the way Reagan/Bush judges and their more liberal colleagues approach claims that affirmative action plans constitute "reverse discrimination." Because this question has been so hotly debated, the Supreme Court has addressed it directly. In *Metro Broadcasting* v. *Federal Communications Commission* (1990), Justice William Brennan's last Supreme Court opinion, the Court upheld by a vote of five to four a Federal Communications Commission (FCC) plan to favor certain minorities in the allocation of new broadcast licenses and the transfer of existing ones. *Metro* marked the first time that the Court approved a race-conscious remedy in the absence of any evidence of past discrimination in that company or organization. Justice Brennan held that "benign race-conscious measures mandated by Congress"—or "good" discrimination—could be upheld even if "not 'remedial' in the sense of being designed to compensate victims of past governmental or societal discrimination." He argued that congressional favoritism of African-Americans was "as old as the Fourteenth Amendment," citing the Freedmen's Bureau. (The Freedmen's Bureau, a post-Civil War creation of Congress, made available to every former slave "40 acres and a mule.") Moreover, any "burden on non-minorities," Justice Brennan argued, was "slight." In any event, as long as the minority preference policy did not impose an "*undue* burden" on non-minorities, the need to eradicate racial discrimination meant that "innocent persons may be called upon to bear some of the burden of the remedy."

The dissent by Justice Anthony Kennedy, which was joined by Justice Antonin Scalia, both Reagan appointees, attacked the majority for "in effect overrul[ing]" decisions holding that "Congress is constrained in its actions by the same standard applicable to the States: strict scrutiny of all racial classifications." Justice Kennedy criticized the majority for devising a new test "to uphold the quotas here." Articulating the traditional critique of affirmative action plans, he contended that "history suggests much peril in th[e] enterprise" of having the Court assume the "role of case-by-case arbiter of when it is desirable and when it is benign for the Government to disfavor some citizens and favor others based on the color of their skin." To Justice Kennedy, all discrimination based on race is "bad" discrimination.

Specifically at issue in *Metro* was whether the FCC's policy impermissibly stereotyped minorities by assuming that minority ownership and management would inevitably lead to more minority-oriented programming. To Justice Brennan, a "predictive judgment about the overall result of minority entry into broadcasting is not a rigid assumption about how minority owners will behave in every case." Rather, "expanded minority ownership of broadcasting outlets will, in the aggregate, result in greater broadcast diversity." Justice Kennedy disagreed, opining that the federal government had impermissibly enacted "into law the stereotypical assumption that the race of owners is linked to broadcast content."

Clarence Thomas Anticipates the Future

Within a year of the Court's decision in *Metro*, Justices Brennan and Thurgood Marshall had resigned, to be replaced by Bush appointees Justices David Souter and Clarence Thomas. And, seven months after *Metro* was issued (and before Thomas's appointment), the D.C. Circuit heard oral argument in *Lamprecht* v. *FCC* (1992)—a constitutional challenge to the FCC's rule favoring women in allocating broadcast licenses. Although the Supreme Court in *Metro* had refused to address the constitutionality of a gender preference, the fact that the Court had upheld a similar policy as applied

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to minorities would ordinarily have caused a lower federal court to follow Justice Brennan's decision. Certainly, were the character and personnel of the Supreme Court unchanged from the 1960s or 1970s (or, perhaps, even the early 1980s), an observer might well have expected the D.C. Circuit to have read the Supreme Court's tea leaves and upheld the gender-preference policy.

The *Lamprecht* opinion on the D.C. Circuit had been assigned to then-Judge Clarence Thomas for drafting. Soon after his Supreme Court confirmation hearings, Justice Thomas returned for one day to his former spot to hold unconstitutional the FCC's rules favoring women. In doing so, Judge Thomas applied the same test Justice Brennan had used to uphold the minority preference program, but found that the rules were unconstitutional because "the evidence offered [did not] demonstrate a link between ownership by women and any type of underrepresented programming."

While Justice Thomas's decision is defensible on a number of grounds, it does seem, as Carter-appointee Judge Abner Mikva noted in dissent, to rest more on an anticipated change in the Supreme Court's jurisprudence than on strict adherence to past precedent and its emanations. It is therefore somewhat odd for a court of appeals decision.

In his dissent, however, Judge Mikva attacked more than just Justice Thomas's opinion in *Lamprecht*. Aiming his rhetorical guns at Reagan/Bush judges generally, Judge Mikva charged: "One of the most unsettling trends in appellate jurisprudence is the tendency of judges who are devoted to the original intention of the Framers of the Constitution to ignore the original intentions of elected representatives in Congress."

Of course, Judge Mikva was directing his fire at "originalist" Reagan/Bush judges such as Bork, Thomas, Scalia, and D.C. Circuit Judge Laurence Silberman who believe that judges may not depart from the original meaning of the Constitution's text in order to follow their own conceptions of right and wrong. Judge Mikva cleverly focused on the seeming doctrinal tension between judges who advocate strict adherence to the constitutional text and their willingness to hold governmentally imposed affirmative action plans unconstitutional. This enabled Judge Mikva to duck his own problem of reading the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause unequally—to allow "good" but not "bad" discrimination. It also allowed him to avoid the FCC's concession, fatal to Mikva's position, that the government had "no evidence" to support its position that a gender-preference scheme would enhance broadcast diversity.

Judge Mikva's attack also misrepresented the views of Reagan/Bush judges by overstating them. Reagan/Bush judges do not always favor abject deference to the legislature. Where the text of the Constitution plainly prohibits a governmental undertaking, Reagan/Bush judges do not hesitate to strike it down.

Judge Mikva should perhaps have posed the harder question to his colleagues, one which the Reagan/Bush appointees have not yet successfully answered. Reagan/Bush judges have not yet articulated a principled basis for deciding when to overturn precedent they believe to be incorrect. They have not resolved how to apply their textualist, originalist approach given existing case law, which, for at least the past 50 years, has largely rested on common-law reasoning (the gradual development of law by judges over time by relying on past decisions). In *Lamprecht*, Judges Thomas and Reagan-appointee James Buckley attempted to deal with this difficulty by selecting among various decisions to outlaw all racial discrimination. Thus, they were able to achieve a result that at least has the benefit of applying the Equal Protection Clause in a consistent manner. Still lacking from decisions of Reagan/Bush judges, however, is a principled explanation of when the doctrine of *stare decisis* compels the originalist judge to abandon originalism.

AP/Wide World Photos

Robert Sawyer (pictured here) and Henry Deutscher both committed grisly murders. After a decade of appeals, Carter judges overturned Deutscher's death sentence while Reagan/Bush judges sustained Sawyer's.

Executive Discretion

In 1971, then-Chief Judge of the D.C. Circuit David Bazelon, a renowned liberal and judicial innovator, wrote: "We stand on the threshold of a new era in the history of the long and fruitful collaboration of administrative agencies and reviewing courts. For many years, courts have treated administrative policy decisions with great deference." In the future, Bazelon noted, courts would strictly "review administrative action that touches on fundamental personal interests in life, liberty, and health," interests that "have always had a special claim to judicial protection" (*EPA* v. *Ruckelshaus*, D.C. Circuit, 1971).

This "new era" lasted only about a decade. During that time, however, federal courts directed the activities of administrative and executive branch agencies to an unprecedented extent. For example, in 1973, the D.C. Circuit found that the Office of Civil Rights in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare had not been sufficiently aggressive in ending segregation in public educational institutions receiving federal funds. In *Adams* v. *Richardson* (D.C. Circuit, 1973), the Court radically revised the customary division of labor among the Congress, the executive branch, and the courts, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

began directing that effort itself. This was remarkable because courts had traditionally deferred to "prosecutorial discretion" of the executive in deciding how to enforce a law adopted by Congress.

Perhaps the deepest invasion of the executive's province occurred in 1984, in *Chaney* v. *Heckler* (D.C. Circuit). Although by this time President Reagan's judicial appointees were starting to have an effect, the courts were still filled with unabashedly pro-regulatory judges. One of the most prominent, Judge J. Skelly Wright, authored a D.C. Circuit opinion directing the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) to assess whether a particular drug was "safe and effective" for its intended use. This would have been relatively unremarkable, except

Reagan/Bush judges have not yet articulated a principled basis for deciding when to overturn precedent they believe to be incorrect.

that the purpose of the drug in question was to put condemned prisoners to death. Thus, as then-D.C. Circuit Judge Scalia put it in dissent, the majority had "convert[ed] a law designed to protect consumers against drugs that are unsafe or ineffective for their represented use into a law not only permitting but mandating federal supervision of the manner of state executions." It had also, said Scalia, "shatter[ed] the well-established barriers separating the proper business of the executive and judicial branches." A unanimous Supreme Court disagreed with Judge Wright and reversed his order to the FDA.

Judge Scalia's dissent in *Chaney* v. *Heckler* highlights a number of important characteristics associated with the decision-making of Reagan/Bush judges in the vital field of administrative law. First, Reagan/Bush judges tend to accord greater deference to the substantive decisions of expert agencies. Second, just as they are more attentive to the precise words of the Constitution, Reagan/Bush judges adhere more closely to the text when reading statutes. Thus, in *Chaney* v. *Heckler*, Judge Wright spoke disparagingly of a "plain meaning argument," on the grounds that "we do not fulfill our interpretive role when we look only to the statutory language [without] [i]nquiry into the...legislative history." By contrast, Reagan/Bush judges tend to be far more suspicious of legislative history. Led by Justice Scalia's heated pronouncements on this subject, Reagan/Bush appointees more often follow the principle that "[w]here the language of [a] law[] is clear, we [the courts] are not free to replace it with an unenacted legislative intent" (*INS* v. *Cardoza-Fonseca*, 1987, Scalia concurring). The Supreme Court has joined together these preferences for deference and for textual interpretation, and has directed courts to follow an agency's interpretation of its governing statute if that law is ambiguous (*Chevron* v. *NRDC*, 1984).

Applying Economics to Law

That Reagan/Bush appointees defer more often to administrative agencies does not mean that they uphold agency actions in all cases. But even where Reagan/Bush judges overturn an agency's determination, they often do so on different grounds than did judges in the 1970s. In particular, Reagan/Bush appointees frequently manifest a greater degree of affinity for the University of Chicago's "law and economics" approach. This type of analysis, identified with such scholars as Judges Richard Posner and Frank Easterbrook, applies the theories and empirical methods of economics to the legal system. Very often, but not always, the conclusions drawn from this analysis counsel against government regulation. This inquiry also tends to reduce the ability of administrative agencies to impose whatever they think is good policy. The use by Reagan/Bush appointees of this approach is thus consistent with their overall campaign to make government more accountable to the people by insisting on strict adherence to the text of statutes.

An example of this brand of judicial reasoning is Reagan-appointee Judge Stephen Williams's recent observations about the drawbacks of strict health and safety regulations that impose disproportionately high costs on the economy. In *International Union, UAW* v. *Occupational Safety and Health Administration* (D.C. Circuit, 1991), he noted that:

> [R]educed stringency is not necessarily adverse to health or safety. More regulation means some combination of reduced value of firms, higher product prices, fewer jobs in the regulated industry, and lower cash wages. All the latter three stretch workers' budgets tighter....And larger incomes enable people to lead safer lives. One study finds a 1 percent increase in income associated with a mortality reduction of about 0.05 percent.

Specifically, "larger income can produce health by encouraging a person's access to better diet, preventive medical care, safer cars, greater leisure, *etc.*" Thus, he concluded, "higher income can secure better health, and there is no basis for the casual assumption that more stringent regulation will always save lives." Plainly, this is a different approach from the philosophy celebrating regulation as the only way to improve health and safety.

Antitrust Revolution

The application of the rigors of economic analysis has had its most profound effect in the revolution in antitrust law. In earlier decades, courts had found companies guilty of antitrust violations simply on the grounds that they were too "big." During the 1980s, by contrast, the courts were strongly influenced by the writings of then-Professors (later Reagan appointees) Bork and Posner. Professor Bork contended that "the only legitimate goal

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of American antitrust law is the maximization of consumer welfare." He rejected the "anticapitalist and authoritarian ethos" of those judges who used the antitrust laws to move "away from the ideal of liberty and reward according to merit and towards an ideal of equality of outcome and reward according to status."

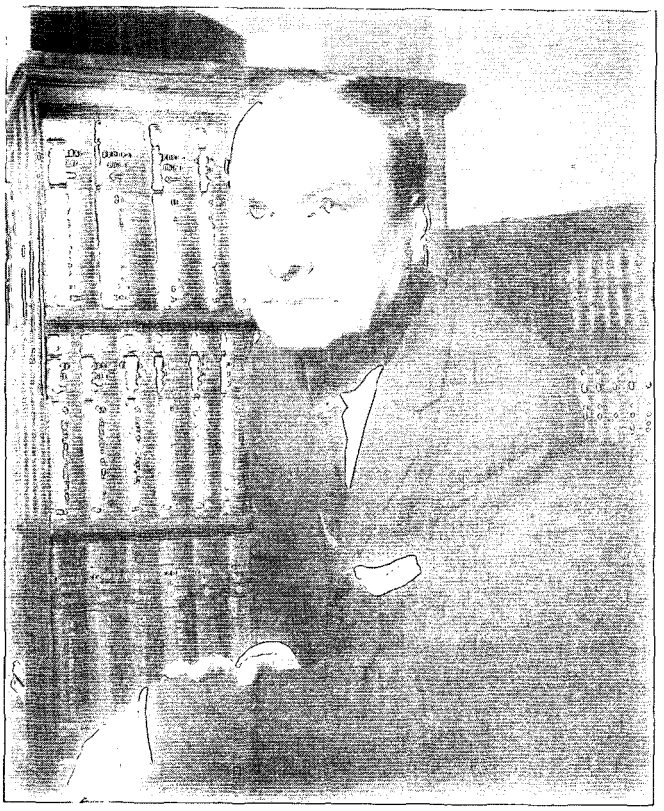
Many of President Reagan's appointees to the federal bench and to the Department of Justice's Antitrust Division were adherents of this "law and economics" school of antitrust thinking. Together, they transformed the field. The Justice Department brought far fewer cases (continuing a trend that had begun in the Carter Justice Department), and the judges tested every antitrust action by strict reference to economic principles. As a result, today few seriously advocate using the antitrust laws to break up large companies simply on the theory that big businesses are inherently bad.

The installation of Reagan/Bush appointees subscribing to this view of antitrust promises to keep it dominant for many years. This is made evident by a number of recent decisions by Reagan/Bush judges that do not hesitate to criticize even the Reagan/Bush Justice Department where it brings cases that, according to "law and economics" analysis, lack sound economic reasoning. For example, in *United States* v. *Syufy* (9th Circuit, 1990), Reagan-appointee Judge Alex Kozinski lambasted the Department of Justice for bringing an action against one Raymond Syufy who, for a short period of time, owned all of the movie theaters in Las Vegas.

The Justice Department contended that since Syufy had a 100-percent share of the market he was an unlawful monopolist, even though there were no barriers to entry by competitors and even though Syufy could not control prices or exclude competition. The victims of Syufy's scheme, the government claimed, were not the moviegoers, whom Syufy had always treated fairly. Rather, the casualties of this market structure were the giant Hollywood studios and others who distributed movies, and who now only had one "customer" in Las Vegas. (Curiously, the studios themselves did not think that Syufy was taking advantage of them, and said so at trial.) Judge Kozinski argued in detail that the government's economic model was "alien to modern economic theory, as well as common sense," and accused the Justice Department of "trot[ting] out shopworn argument[s] we had thought long abandoned." Kozinski concluded:

> It is a tribute to the state of competition in America that the Antitrust Division of the United States has found no worthier target than this paper tiger on which to expend limited taxpayer funds. We cannot help but wonder whether bringing a lawsuit like this, and pursuing it doggedly through 27 months of pretrial proceedings, about two weeks of trial and now the full distance on appeal, really serves the interests of free competition.

Government agencies pay close attention to opinions like these, especially when they are written by judges who are (supposedly) philosophical compatriots. The presence of Reagan/Bush appointees on the bench thus



UPI/Bettmann

JFK-appointee Judge J. Skelly Wright ordered the FDA to prove that a drug was "safe and effective" before it could be used to execute prisoners.

serves as a powerful check on the executive branch's enforcement of the antitrust laws. This is especially true of the Bush Justice Department; but it will also be a factor in constraining future prosecutions by Antitrust Division lawyers.

Most Enduring Legacy

This discussion of broad trends does not, of course, mean that each Reagan or Bush appointee subscribes to the views described here as associated with Reagan/Bush judges. Nor does it mean that Reagan/Bush judges always vote one way, that their decision in a given case is predetermined, or that the philosophy of Reagan/Bush judges always adheres to principles described above. But as a result of appointments by Reagan and Bush, the courts are now more textualist in orientation and, hence, more communitarian. They strive to be less result-oriented, less "liberal" and less "conservative." They are harder on criminal defendants, slightly tilted against increased regulation, and decidedly less hostile to business. They defer more to both the legislative and the executive branches. They still lack a coherent, satisfying answer to the problem of *stare decisis.*

Because many Reagan/Bush judges assumed the bench at a relatively young age and now have life tenure, this reconstructed federal judiciary may well be the most enduring domestic legacy of the Reagan and Bush administrations. For better or worse, Presidents Reagan and Bush delivered on their promises to change the way the federal courts interpret the law.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No Mandate for Leadership

The Idea Vacuum in the GOP

Representative Vin Weber

I am deeply worried about the congressional elections this November. In my 14 years in national politics, I have never been so concerned about the future of conservative ideas.

What troubles me is that Republicans have failed to define a national agenda for leading the country. We have lost our emphasis on economic growth, such an important part of Ronald Reagan's achievement. We have failed to adopt a reform strategy for the unfinished business from the Reagan years—the state of our families, our schools, our cities. No doubt there will be an enormous turnover in the House this November, and Republicans should pick up at least 20 seats, perhaps as many as 30 or 40. However, in contrast to 1978 and 1980 when we made our biggest gains and afterwards had the biggest impact on public policy, this year most Republican congressional candidates aren't really running on issues at all.

The big issue in congressional races this year seems to be congressional reform. That's fine. It's an important issue. If I were a challenger I would exploit public anger at incumbents to the maximum. And Republicans will probably benefit from this issue in the House—if for no other reason than that Democrats outnumber Republicans almost two to one.

But running against congressional pay raises and check-bouncing is not sufficient as a political agenda. It gives the candidate no mandate from the voters on the major public policy issues of our time. More important, on issues other than congressional reform, it gives the candidate no idea what to push for once elected.

Contrast with 1980

My first involvement in national politics came in 1978, when I ran Rudy Boschwitz's Senate campaign. The big issue for Republicans that year was that taxes were too high and were stifling the economy. We made big gains in the Congress on this issue, and quickly went on the intellectual offensive. Indeed the groundwork for the 1981 tax cuts really was prepared in the 1978 elections.

Then in 1980 when I first ran for Congress, GOP candidates ran a strong issues-based campaign. We were for economic growth and tax reduction, a stronger military, and a return to family values. We were on offense in the campaign, and we took our momentum right into the House and Senate. Even though we were outnumbered in the House, we managed to win the key votes on tax and spending cuts and the defense buildup. This was because we had the initiative, we had an intellectually coherent position, we had popular support for what we were trying to do, and we had a leader in Ronald Reagan who was ready to articulate our strategy.

The elections of 1984 through 1990 were based much less on issues, and Republicans have suffered as a result. We lost control of the Senate in 1986, we have been steadily losing seats in the House, and we are on the defensive in most domestic policy at a time when our agenda should be ascendant.

Deficit Trap

Simply running against Congress and the political establishment doesn't help us here. When I listen to this year's Republican candidates, including very conservative ones, the only other issues they mention are health care and the deficit. But the mention is so cursory that the Left is framing the debate.

Think about Harris Wofford's Senate victory in Pennsylvania last year, one of the first crests of this wave of anti-incumbency feeling. Health care was a winning issue for him, because he really wasn't challenged on it. Unless conservatives frame the health care issue in terms of marketplace forces and individual choice, national health insurance or some other statist system will be the easiest solution for voters to grab.

I am also very concerned that conservatives are falling into a trap by allowing the deficit to become the centerpiece of the economic policy debate. Our focus instead should be that government spends too much or that taxation is too high. Talking about deficits, without winning voter support for tax and spending reduction, is a recipe for tax increases.

Liberals and Democrats always have the advantage

Vin Weber, *secretary of the House Republican Conference, is leaving Congress after 12 years of representing the 2nd District of Minnesota.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when Republicans lack a coherent national agenda. This is because Democrats instinctively know what to stand for on local issues that voters care about. The Democratic answer is: "We can solve all these problems. We'll spend more money on the existing federal programs that are designed to serve those needs." This will be the path of least resistance for the political system, unless Republicans and conservatives can lift the country above all its local problems and make the case that the whole country needs to be reformed and strengthened.

A Tax on Republicanism

What, then, ought to be the national agenda for conservatives in this election? The single most important goal should be to restore high levels of economic growth by reviving the entrepreneurial economy. This means expanding free trade throughout the world, one area where President Bush has been outstanding. It means lowering taxes on business investment. Above all it means lowering the capital-gains tax. If Republicans are going to stand for entrepreneurship, we have to stand for the principle that risk-taking should be rewarded.

President Bush is tired of the capital-gains issue, which is really unfortunate. Pat Buchanan's talk about "vulture capitalists" also undermines our cause. Conservatives cannot be status-quo defenders. The most potent idea in conservatism is that the greatest engine of social progress is a dynamic, free economy. For all its limitations, capitalism solves more problems and creates more positive social changes than government-planned social engineering ever could.

When Democrats try to raise taxes on upper-income groups, they frame the issue in crass political terms as a tax on Republicans. The capital-gains tax, however, is an assault on the idea of entrepreneurship—a tax on "Republicanism." Its message is that enterprises that challenge the established order are bad, that the accumulation of new wealth is bad. This is why we can't allow the debate over capital gains to assume a secondary role. A zero capital-gains tax has to be our ultimate goal. For the time being, if we cut it in half and eliminate it in the inner cities, we will take a great step forward.

Heirs of George Wallace

Another fundamental issue is educational choice. Nothing will transform America more than breaking the statist monopoly of the educational system. This idea has been around for a long time, and now the public is ready for it. The way I put it to voters is that school choice is necessary to insure that we remain competitive economically well into the next century.

An array of special-interest groups now stands with hands locked, barring the way to educational choice. The National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, and the rest of the educational bureaucracy are standing in the door of the school house, just as George Wallace did in the 1960s, saying that no one who isn't already in there can get in. But a campaign to mobilize public opinion on behalf of choice can defeat these special-interest groups. Election time is the best time to get voters' attention and align a new political force.

Responding to Los Angeles

Another important issue—welfare reform—has been put on the front burner by the riots in Los Angeles. This country is never going to take a *laissez-faire* attitude toward the poorest people in our society. To do so would be contrary to our Judeo-Christian culture, and to all the values that America was built on. For conservatives simply to vacate the field on these issues, or to take a libertarian posture and say that the government has no responsibility here, is wrong and self-destructive. It means that the only response available to the American people is going to be statist, collectivist, redistributionist, and paternalistic, which is what we've had now for generation after generation.

The conservative response to poverty starts with economic growth. While not everyone benefits from a strong economy, few will benefit from a weak one. Conservatives further seek to direct economic growth into areas where the poorest people live, which is why enterprise zones are so important. Reforms in the welfare system should remove disincentives against work and marriage. Jack Kemp is also right on target in his emphasis on housing privatization. Nothing has done more than widespread home-ownership to make this a nation of middle-class values. If conservatives believe in property, then we ought to expand property opportunities for poor people.

Running against congressional pay raises and check-bouncing is not sufficient as a political agenda.

A final big issue for conservatives should be to reverse the tax bias against families. I frequently ask people what has been the most important change in the tax system in their lifetimes. They usually point to the tax reform of 1986, or the Reagan income-tax cuts. I tell them that the biggest change has been totally unlegislated—the erosion of the value of the dependent exemption, which stands now at $2,300, compared with $7,000 in today's dollars at the end of World War II. Raising the value of this exemption is an essential way to restore economic opportunity for struggling young families.

Campaigning against bounced checks, or congressional perks, or incumbency is fine as far as it goes. But we have to move beyond this issue if we are to make it as conservatives. We have to show how incumbents are using their privileges to prop up a welfare and education system that isn't working, and to oppose changes in the tax code that would help young families and energize the entrepreneurial economy. Unless we articulate a conservative reform agenda during this campaign, we will undermine our impact on national policy for the next four years. ☎

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Man Who Won the Cold War

Ronald Reagan's Strategy for Freedom

Edwin Meese III

The collapse of Communism from 1989 to 1991 came as no surprise to Ronald Reagan, although he didn't think it would come quite so quickly. Throughout his career Reagan had emphasized the political, economic, and moral weakness of the Soviet Union, and the inevitable breakdown of the Marxist system if it were ever seriously challenged. As president, he mounted such a serious challenge, and devised a strategy that made the Soviet leadership painfully aware of its vulnerability.

Reagan spelled out his view of Communism in four speeches of astonishing prescience: his 1982 address to the British Parliament at Westminster, his speech before the National Association of Evangelicals in 1983, his appearance at the Brandenburg Gate of the Berlin Wall in 1987, and his talk under Lenin's statue at Moscow State University in May 1988.

Of these, the speech to the evangelicals is best known. Reagan called the Soviet bloc an "Evil Empire" and referred to Communism as "the focus of evil in the modern world." These comments were widely derided at the time as the rantings of a Cold-War ideologue. But to people living under the yoke of Soviet Communism, his words were all too obviously accurate—and they were words of hope. They showed that the American president understood their plight and was not about to accede to their subjugation.

Today, after the people of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union have thrown off the shackles of Communist rule, few doubt that the Soviet system was indeed an "Evil Empire" and that the world is better for its passing. If Reagan had done nothing more than proclaim this truth, while fashionable opinion was ridiculing it, he would stand vindicated before history. But the president did a great deal more than this.

In addition to stressing the evils of Communism, Reagan stressed its inherent weakness. In his view, the two were related, since in denying freedom the Communists not only engaged in tyranny, they also crippled the creative potential of the human spirit. Reagan firmly believed that freedom was both morally and materially superior to Communism. As he put it in his Westminster speech to the British Parliament:

> The decay of the Soviet experiment should come as no surprise to us. Wherever the comparisons have been made between free and closed societies—West Germany and East Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia, Malaysia and Vietnam—it is the democratic countries that are prosperous and responsive to the needs of their people. And one of the simple but overwhelming facts of our times is this: Of all the millions of refugees we've seen in the modern world, their flight is always away from, not toward, the Communist world.

Reagan described in the Westminster speech "the march of freedom and democracy which will leave Marxism-Leninism on the ash heap of history." He went even further in his address to the evangelicals, where he predicted Communism's imminent demise. After attacking "moral equivalence" thinking, he called for a program of resistance to Soviet imperialism, and added: "I believe we shall rise to the challenge. I believe that Communism is another sad, bizarre chapter in history whose last pages even now are being written."

At the Brandenburg Gate, Reagan asked Mikhail Gorbachev to tear down the Berlin Wall, and expanded on his vision of history. "In the 1950s," he recalled, "Khrushchev predicted, 'We will bury you.' But in the West today, we see a Free World that has achieved a level of prosperity and well-being unprecedented in all human history. In the Communist world, we see failure, technological backwardness, declining standards of health, even want of the most basic kind—too little food. Even today, the Soviet Union still cannot feed itself.

"After these four decades, then, there stands before the entire world one great inescapable conclusion: Freedom leads to prosperity. Freedom replaces the an-

EDWIN MEESE III, *counselor to President Reagan from 1981 to 1985, and attorney general from 1985 to 1988, holds the Ronald Reagan Chair in Public Policy at The Heritage Foundation. His article is adapted from his book* With Reagan: The Inside Story *(Regnery Gateway).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cient hatreds among nations with comity and peace. Freedom is the victor."

Then, at Moscow State University, Reagan spoke of freedom's inevitable victory to the children of the *nomenklatura*: "It's hard for government planners, no matter how sophisticated, to ever substitute for millions of individuals working night and day to make their dreams come true....We Americans make no secret of our belief in freedom....Freedom is the right to question and change the established way of doing things. It is the continuing revolution of the marketplace....It is the right to put forth an idea, scoffed at by the experts, and watch it catch fire among the people." Not long after, the idea of freedom caught fire among the republics of the Soviet Union.

Forcing the Soviets to Choose

Reagan's conviction that Communism was vulnerable was not simply theoretical. It was the essence of his foreign policy and defense strategy toward the Soviet empire. Reagan knew that the Soviet system could not command the allegiance of its captive peoples, and its economic system could not produce the goods required to shelter, feed, and clothe them. In any full-scale competition with the United States and other Western powers, therefore, Communism would be forced to choose between maintaining its empire and solving its many problems.

In contrast with prevailing liberal opinion, Reagan refused to negotiate with the Soviet Union from a position of weakness. He was not opposed to negotiations, and in his second term he was a very successful negotiator. But this was only after he had restored the strength of the American military, capitalized on our technological and economic advantages, assisted anti-Communist forces around the world, and reversed the West's posture of retreat.

Reagan's strategic goal was to force the Soviets to choose: either stand down from their continuing confrontation with the West, or face increasingly devastating pressures on the home front. He rejected accommodation with the Soviets, on the grounds that it would postpone their day of reckoning between their inherent domestic weakness and their globalist ambitions.

The president made these points frequently in his Cabinet councils. "How long," he would say, "can the Russians keep on being so belligerent and spending so much on the arms race when they can't even feed their own people?" In his memoirs, he commented on intelligence updates about the condition of the Soviet economy in the early 1980s:

> The latest figures provided additional evidence that it was a basket case, and even if I hadn't majored in economics in college, it would have been plain to me that Communism was doomed as a failed economic system. The situation was so bad that if Western countries got together and cut off credit to it, we could bring it to its knees.

If economics were a major weakness of the Soviet system, he reasoned, it was a huge advantage for our own. "The great dynamic success of capitalism," he said, "has given us a powerful weapon in our battle against Communism—money. The Russians could never win the arms race; we could outspend them forever. Moreover, incentives inherent in the capitalist system had given us an industrial base that [meant] we had the capacity to maintain a technological edge on them forever."

AP/Wide World Photos

Reagan refused to give up SDI at his 1986 summit with Gorbachev. In global-strategic terms, this was his finest hour.

The other side of the equation was for the United States and other Western powers to stop bailing the Soviets out of their economic difficulties through subsidized credit, one-sided business deals, and technology transfer. As Reagan observed, he wanted a coordinated Western policy in which "none of us would subsidize the Soviet economy or the Soviet military expansion by offering preferential trading terms or easy credit." He also wanted to restrain the flow of products and technology that would increase Soviet military capabilities. This was the principal motive behind the battle over the Siberian pipeline, and also behind the systematic effort of the Pentagon's office on technology transfer, to impede the flow of Western computers, precision machinery, microelectronics, and other militarily useful systems to the East. The coordinated effort (headed by Stephen Bryen) at the Department of Defense to curtail such transfers, both from the United States and from third countries receiving our technology, was one of the great unsung successes of the Reagan era.

The Polish Domino

A vivid example of the Reagan strategy in action was the liberation of Poland, which presaged the disintegration of the other Communist regimes of Eastern Europe. This was among the earliest of test cases for the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

president's effort to coordinate economic, technological, and diplomatic factors against the Soviets and their clients—and it turned out to be a momentous success.

In December 1981, the government of General Wojciech Jaruzelski declared martial law in Poland, cracking down on the protests of the Solidarity labor union headed by Lech Walesa. Here, indeed, was the face of the "Evil Empire," and it prompted a strong response from Reagan. The nature of that response was twofold: to provide material and moral support to Walesa's freedom movement, and to put the economic squeeze on Jaruzelski and his Soviet mentors.

As has now been made public by Carl Bernstein in an article for *Time*, Reagan conducted this effort in concert with Pope John Paul II, himself a native of Poland, whom the president greatly admired and with whom he saw eye-to-eye concerning the Jaruzelski crackdown. The administration shared intelligence data on the situation with the Vatican, making certain that our policies were on the identical wavelength. President Reagan conferred directly with the Pope, while others in the administration worked closely with Catholic Church officials.

The main elements of this strategy were to keep Solidarity alive through financial aid, clandestine radios, underground newspapers, and the like. Much of this was done jointly with the AFL-CIO, which had a strong and obvious interest in helping sustain the Solidarity union. At the same time, sanctions against the Polish regime—and against the Soviets—added to the pressure on the Communists. Administration opposition to the Siberian pipeline, and to other economic dealings with the Soviets, was integral to this campaign.

It was, as Bernstein notes, a carefully calibrated effort, designed to keep the opposition viable and the Communists on the defensive, without provoking the kind of violent clashes that had previously led to tragic outcomes in Poland, East Germany, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. The object was to bring irresistible forces to bear that would exploit the political and economic weakness of the Communist regime—exactly as Reagan had envisioned in his many statements on the topic. Key players in the Polish drama included CIA Director William Casey, National Security Advisers Richard Allen and William Clark, and Richard Pipes of the National Security Council.

In the end, Solidarity did survive, and the Jaruzelski government backed down in stages from its hard-line posture. In 1987, the Pope traveled to his native land, where he was acclaimed by millions of his coreligionists and countrymen, to give his personal backing to Solidarity. The days of Communist rule in Poland were numbered, and the other tottering dominoes of Eastern Europe would soon follow in its wake—as would, eventually, the dictatorship of the USSR itself.

Turning Point at Reykjavik

The battle over SDI was another important example of Reagan's strategy. Reagan thought we should exploit our technological advantages here, not unilaterally restrain them as most liberals were recommending. He favored SDI on its own merits because he wanted to move away from a deterrence strategy that relied on nuclear weapons. He also was convinced that U.S. missile defenses would bankrupt the Soviet Union, and force it to abandon the struggle.

This is essentially what happened. Even though Gorbachev himself attempted to contend otherwise (as in his book, *Perestroika*), considerable testimony from the Soviet standpoint confirms Reagan's judgment. Some of this appears in the reporting of Don Oberdorfer of the *Washington Post*, who closely tracked Soviet attitudes on Cold War issues from 1983 to 1987.

On a 1984 trip to Moscow, for instance, Oberdorfer reports that when asked what were the most important questions facing the country, "nearly all of the 12 Soviet officials or journalists whom I met named the internal management or economy of the USSR." He quotes a former KGB official, assailing Reagan's policies, as saying, "You are trying to destroy our economy, to interfere with our trade, to overwhelm and make us inferior in the strategic field."

Oberdorfer similarly quotes Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko as telling former Senator George McGovern that Reagan and his aides "want to cause trouble. They want to weaken the Soviet system. They want to bring it down." Such concerns became more acute, Oberdorfer notes, when Mikhail Gorbachev came to power the following year: "Gorbachev and his new team were more conscious than their predecessors of the economic troubles of the country, induced in large part by massive military spending."

These concerns were made official and overt at the Twenty-Seventh Party Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in March 1986, which declared that "without an acceleration of the country's economic and social development, it will be impossible to maintain our position on the international scene."

The final straw for the Soviets, as the president foresaw, was SDI. Oberdorfer quotes Gorbachev advisor Aleksandr Yakovlev as saying: "We understood that it was a new stage, a new turn in the armaments race." If SDI were not stopped, "we would have to start our own program, which would be tremendously expensive and unnecessary. And this [would bring] further exhaustion of the country." For this reason, SDI became the focal point of U.S.–Soviet negotiations—at Geneva in 1985, and at Reykjavik in 1986.

At Reykjavik, Gorbachev agreed to reduce by half, and eventually eliminate entirely, all intercontinental and intermediate missiles—but only on the condition that the United States abandon SDI. By all reports, Secretary of State George Shultz and others in the U.S. delegation were more than willing to make the trade. Had Reagan been the passive creature popularly depicted, the offer would have been accepted on the spot—SDI would have been eliminated.

But Gorbachev—and just about everyone else—had greatly underestimated Reagan's comprehension of, and perseverance on, this issue. President Reagan understood the relevant factors concerning SDI just as well as, or better than, Gorbachev, and he was not about to trade it away, even for so enticing an offer as that extended by the Soviet leader. Since SDI threatened no one, Reagan realized that there was nothing incompatible with main-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

taining it as a defense while eliminating offensive weapons. So why insist on its removal?

Reagan also knew the Soviets had a lengthy history of evading arms agreements. In a world devoid of missile defenses, and with everyone else disarmed, this meant that a power possessing even one offensive missile could exert irresistible blackmail. SDI was an insurance policy against that possibility, and Reagan was not about to give it up. As he put it:

> After everything had been decided, or so I thought, Gorbachev threw us a curve. With a smile on his face, he said, "This all depends, of course, on you giving up SDI." I realized he had brought me to Iceland with one purpose: to kill the Strategic Defense Initiative. He must have known from the beginning he was going to bring it up at the last minute. "The meeting is over," I said. "Let's go...we're leaving."

In global-strategic terms this was Reagan's finest hour—and arguably the one that conclusively won the Cold War for the West. The president, going one-on-one with Gorbachev, not only avoided the trap set for him, but effectively turned the tables—strengthening rather than weakening the U.S. commitment to SDI. Gorbachev must have known that he had gambled, and lost.

The loss had important economic consequences. As Chief of Staff Donald Regan, an important strategist for the president's early summits with Gorbachev, later put it: "To stay in the arms race, the Russians had to spend a lot more money because President Reagan had committed the United States, with all its wealth and all its technical capacity, to developing SDI, a defensive system that made the entire Soviet missile force useless....This meant that Reagan had been dealt the winning hand."

Realizing that Reagan would not give up SDI or Western strength, Gorbachev soon began to abandon the struggle—as Reagan had predicted the Soviets eventually would. Indeed the election of George Bush, who had been Reagan's vice president, was followed almost immediately by Gorbachev's December 1988 announcement at the United Nations that he was ordering a unilateral cutback of 500,000 men from the Soviet armed services and the withdrawal of some tank divisions from Eastern Europe.

Gorbachev himself put it this way in a luncheon with President Reagan and President-elect Bush: "I'm not doing this for show....I'm doing this because I need to. I'm doing this because there's a revolution taking place in my country."

Friendship with Gorbachev

From a post-Cold War perspective, the main principles of the Reagan program may seem self-evident. Viewing the rubble of the Berlin Wall, the upheavals that have transformed Eastern Europe, and the internal collapse of the Soviet regime, hardly anyone can doubt that Communism was indeed an "Evil Empire" and a failed economic system. Such points have been affirmed by the former leaders of the Communist world itself.

Yet at the time Reagan was making these statements and pursuing these policies there was nothing self-evident about them. On the contrary, he was roundly attacked both for his general analysis of the situation, and for nearly all the specific steps he took in carrying out his policy—the defense buildup, INF deployments, aid to anti-Communist resistance forces, curtailment of technology transfer, SDI.

Even in the aftermath of the Communist collapse Reagan critics were reluctant to credit President Reagan with the accuracy of his vision or the correctness of his policy. Many discussions of the Communist debacle completely ignore the impact of the Reagan strategy, attributing the demise of the "Evil Empire" to a change of heart on the part of the Communists, or to unnamed forces that somehow brought about the toppling of the system.

Perhaps the most famous example of this tendency was the issue of *Time* magazine celebrating the virtual end of Communism and proclaiming Mikhail Gorbachev "Man of the Decade." The role of Ronald Reagan in all of this was scarcely mentioned, nor was much notice given to the fact that the establishment view had been mistaken at every step along the way.

Reagan's strategy was to make the Soviet leadership painfully aware of its political, economic, and moral vulnerability.

Reagan himself became a friend of Gorbachev. He knew Gorbachev remained a dedicated Communist, but he thought the Soviet leader was different from his predecessors in sincerely wanting a better relationship with the Free World and in understanding many of the fallacies of Marxism-Leninism. Reagan frequently observed that Gorbachev was the first Soviet leader he had known who did not seek the establishment of a one-world Communist state. Reagan also felt that, although Gorbachev was not necessarily a believer, deep down the Soviet leader was influenced by his Christian upbringing.

Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher knew Gorbachev and Reagan well. She said Gorbachev was a man we could do business with, but she didn't credit him with the collapse of Communism. That honor was due to Ronald Reagan, whose foreign policy accomplishments she summed up at a 1991 Heritage Foundation dinner in Washington: "He won the Cold War without firing a shot."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Requiem for the War on Poverty

Rethinking Welfare After the L.A. Riots

Robert Rector

The War on Poverty has failed. Twenty-five years after the riots under Lyndon Johnson led to a massive expansion of urban welfare programs, the riots in Los Angeles show that the problems of the inner city have not been solved and have actually gotten worse.

This failure is not due to a lack of spending. In 1990 federal, state, and local governments spent $215 billion on assistance programs for low-income persons and communities. This figure includes only spending on programs for the poor and excludes middle-class entitlements such as Social Security and Medicare. Adjusting for inflation, total welfare spending in 1990 was five times the level of welfare spending in the mid-1960s when the War on Poverty began. Total welfare spending in the War on Poverty since its inception in 1964 has been $3.5 trillion (in constant 1990 dollars); an amount that exceeds the entire cost of World War II after adjusting for inflation.

The problem with the welfare state is not the level of spending, it is that nearly all of this expenditure actively promotes self-destructive behavior among the poor. Current welfare may best be conceptualized as a system that offers each single mother a "paycheck" worth an average of between $8,500 and $15,000 a year, depending on the state. The mother has a contract with the government: She will continue to receive her "paycheck" as long as she fulfills two conditions: 1) she does not work; and 2) she does not marry an employed male. I call this the incentive system made in hell.

Material vs. Behavioral Poverty

All too often policy-makers fail to recognize that there are two separate kinds of poverty: "material poverty" and "behavioral poverty." Material poverty means, in the simplest sense, having a family income below the official poverty income threshold, which was $12,675 for a family of four in 1991.

To the average American, however, to say someone is poor implies that he or she is malnourished, inadequately clothed, and lives in inadequate housing. There is little material poverty in the United States in this sense generally understood by the public. Today, the fifth of the population with the lowest incomes has a level of economic consumption higher than that of the median American family in 1955.

For instance, there is little or no poverty-induced malnutrition in the United States. People defined by the U.S. government as "poor" have almost the same average level of consumption of protein, vitamins, and other nutrients as people in the upper middle class. Children living in "poverty" today, far from being malnourished, actually grow up to be one inch taller and 10 pounds heavier than the average child of the same age in the general population in the late 1950s. The principal nutrition-related problem facing poor people in the United States today is obesity, not hunger.

Similarly, a "poor" American has more housing space and is less likely to be overcrowded than is the *average* citizen in Western Europe. Nearly all of the American poor live in decent housing that is well-maintained. In fact, nearly 40 percent of the households defined as poor by the government own their homes.

"Behavioral poverty," by contrast, refers to a breakdown in the values and conduct that lead to the formation of healthy families, stable personalities, and self-sufficiency. Behavioral poverty is a cluster of social pathologies including: dependency and eroded work ethic, lack of educational aspiration and achievement, inability or unwillingness to control one's children, increased single parenthood and illegitimacy, criminal activity, and drug and alcohol abuse. While there may be little material poverty in the United States, behavioral poverty is abundant and growing.

Liberalism's Dashed Assumptions

There are three distinct approaches to dealing with the interrelated problems of material poverty and behavioral poverty. The first approach, which could be called "liberal," maintains that decreasing material poverty leads to decreasing behavioral poverty. Thus raising the incomes of the poor through cash, food aid,

Robert Rector *is policy analyst for social, welfare, and family issues at The Heritage Foundation. This article is adapted from testimony before the Domestic Task Force of the House Select Committee on Hunger.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drawing by Anatol Woolf for *Policy Review*

The welfare mother receives her paycheck on two conditions. She must not work. And she must not marry an employed male.

and housing assistance will increase emotional stability, educational success, and so forth.

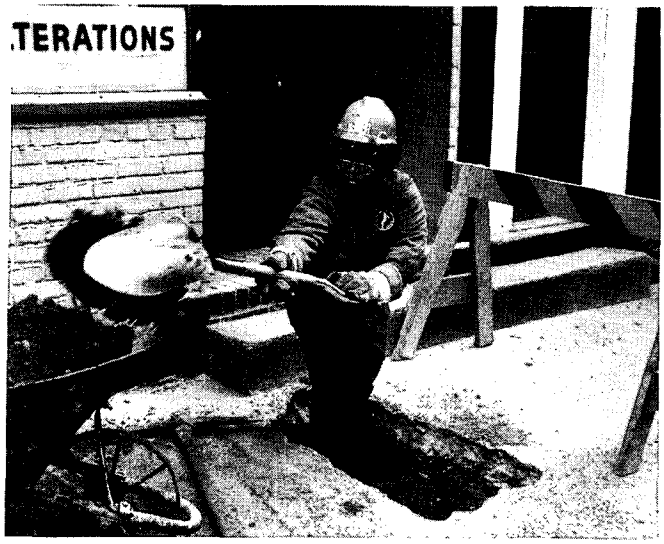
The second approach, which could be called "redistributionist," posits no clear link between raising incomes and reducing behavioral problems. This theory promotes welfare expansion to raise the incomes of the less affluent for its own sake. While this approach focuses initially on dealing with vital needs such as eliminating malnutrition, its aims are open-ended. Thus, although welfare spending is already more than twice the amount needed to eliminate all poverty in the United States, demands for more spending are as vociferous as ever. Most advocates of this position believe strongly that income redistribution is a positive goal in and of itself, and seek to use welfare policy as a means of attaining that goal. The more income redistributed the better.

The third approach might be termed "conservative." It rests on the belief that spending on most welfare programs actually has increased behavioral poverty. In particular, this approach holds that welfare has led to an increase in prolonged dependency and has undermined family structure, thereby contributing to increases in other dysfunctional behaviors.

The assumptions behind the first, or liberal, approach to welfare policy are decisively refuted by historical experience. Throughout most of the 20th century the incomes of Americans of all social classes have increased dramatically. As noted, after adjusting for inflation, the per capita economic consumption of the least affluent 20 percent of households today exceeds the per-capita income of the median-income U.S. family in 1955. In 1950, some 32 percent of Americans were "poor," having incomes below today's poverty income thresholds adjusted for inflation; in 1990, 13.5 percent of the population was poor. Going back further in time, we find that in the late 1920s the median income of American households was $1,606 (or $11,000 in 1990 dollars); at that time half of the population was probably poor by today's standards. According to the axioms of liberal welfare policy, as incomes in all social classes rose dramatically throughout the century, we should have seen increases in cognitive ability, emotional stability, and marital stability, and decreases in crime. Instead we have seen the opposite.

Most people alive today had at least one parent or grandparent who was "poor" by the current government definition adjusted for inflation. But most of these individuals were not poor in spirit or behavior. Although their incomes were low, their values, disciplines, and behavior were middle-class—as were the values they passed on to their children. Merely raising someone's income does not inculcate middle-class values and be-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



UPI/Bettmann

States should require welfare recipients to work in exchange for benefits received.

havior; in fact, most welfare programs do exactly the opposite.

Community Devastation

Following the liberal and redistributionist approaches to welfare, the present welfare system is designed almost exclusively to raise the material living standards of less-affluent Americans. The federal government provides cash, food, housing and medical assistance, and other benefits through more than 75 separate welfare programs. As noted, total federal, state, and local welfare spending reached $215 billion in 1990, excluding all middle-class entitlement programs such as Social Security and Medicare. This figure was more than twice the amount needed to raise the income of every American above the current poverty income thresholds.

But for the general public the real problem with welfare is not the rapidly expanding cost, which now absorbs over 4 percent of the entire national economy—but the sense that welfare actually harms rather than helps the poor. The key dilemma of the welfare state is that the prolific spending intended to alleviate material poverty has led to a dramatic increase in behavioral poverty. The War on Poverty may have raised the material standard of living of poor Americans, but at a cost of creating whole communities where traditional two-parent families have vanished, work is rare or non-existent, and multiple generations have grown up dependent on government transfers.

For a growing number of poor Americans, the existence of generous welfare programs makes not working a reasonable alternative to long-term employment. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, social scientists at the Office of Economic Opportunity conducted a series of controlled experiments to examine the effect of welfare benefits on work effort. The longest-running and most comprehensive of these experiments was conducted between 1971 and 1978 in Seattle and Denver, and became known as the Seattle/Denver Income Maintenance Experiment, or SIME/DIME.

Advocates of expanding welfare had hoped that SIME/DIME and similar experiments conducted in other cities would prove that generous welfare benefits did not adversely affect work effort. Instead, the SIME/DIME experiment found that every dollar of extra welfare given to low-income persons reduced labor and earnings by 80 cents. The results of the SIME/DIME study are directly applicable to existing welfare programs: Nearly all have strong anti-work effects like those demonstrated in the SIME/DIME experiment.

Welfare's effectiveness in undermining the work ethic is readily apparent. In the mid-1950s nearly one-third of poor households were headed by an adult who worked full time throughout the year. Today, with greater welfare benefits available, only 16.4 percent of poor families are headed by a full-time working adult.

Husband as Handicap

Another devastating legacy of the past 25 years has been the dramatic reduction in family formation. The current welfare system has made marriage economically irrational for most low-income parents by converting the low-income working husband from a necessary breadwinner into a net financial handicap. It has transformed marriage from a legal institution designed to protect and nurture children into one that financially penalizes nearly all low-income parents who enter into it.

Across the nation, the current welfare system has all but destroyed family structure in the inner city by establishing strong financial disincentives to marriage. Suppose a young man fathers a child out of wedlock. If this young father abandons his responsibilities to the mother and child, government will step in and support them with welfare. If the mother has a second child out of wedlock, average combined benefits will reach around $13,000 per year.

If, on the other hand, the young man does what society believes is morally correct (that is, marries the mother and takes a job to support the family), government policy takes the opposite course. Welfare benefits would be almost completely eliminated. If the young father makes more than $4.50 per hour, the federal government actually begins taking away his income through taxes. (The federal welfare reform act of 1988 permits the young father to marry the mother and join the family to receive welfare, but only as long as he does not work. Once he takes a full-time job to support his family, the welfare benefits are quickly eliminated and the father's earnings are subject to taxation.)

The onset of the War on Poverty directly coincided with the disintegration of the low-income family—and the black family in particular. At the outset of World War II, the black illegitimate birth rate was slightly less than 19 percent. Between 1955 and 1965 it rose slowly, from 22 percent in 1955 to 28 percent in 1965. Beginning in the late 1960s, however, the relatively slow growth in black illegitimate births skyrocketed—reaching 49 percent in 1975 and 65 percent in 1989. If current trends continue, the black illegitimate birth rate will reach 75 percent in 10 years. The growth of illegitimacy, however, is not restricted to blacks; large increases in out-of-wedlock births are also occurring among low-income whites.

Generous welfare benefits to single mothers directly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

contributed to the rise in illegitimate births. Recent research by Shelley Lundberg and Robert D. Plotnick of the University of Washington shows that an increase of roughly $200 per month in welfare benefits per family correlates with a 150-percent increase in the teen-age illegitimate birth rate for a state. Similarly, high benefits discourage single mothers from remarrying. Research by Robert Hutchens of Cornell University shows that a 10-percent increase in AFDC benefits in a state corresponds with a decrease in the marriage rate of all single mothers in the state by 8 percent. The Seattle/Denver Income Maintenance Experiment (SIME/DIME) mentioned earlier found that providing generous welfare benefits increased the rate of marital dissolution by 40 percent among families participating in the experiment.

Crippling Family Breakdown

The collapse of family structure has crippling effects on the health, emotional stability, educational achievements, and life prospects of low-income children. Children raised in single-parent families, when compared with those in intact families, are one-third more likely to exhibit behavioral problems such as hyperactivity, antisocial behavior, and anxiety. Children deprived of a two-parent home are two to three times more likely to need psychiatric care than those in two-parent families. And as teen-agers they are more likely to commit suicide. Absence of a father increases the probability that a child will use drugs and engage in criminal activity.

Because the father plays a significant role in a child's cognitive development, children in single-parent families have lower IQs and score less well on other tests of aptitude and achievement. Children in single-parent families are three times as likely to fail and repeat a year in grade school as are children in two-parent families. In all respects, the differences between children raised in single-parent homes and those raised in intact homes are profound, and such differences persist even if single-parent homes are compared with two-parent homes of exactly the same income level and educational standing.

But the greatest tragedy is that family instability and its attendant problems are passed on to future generations. Children from single-parent homes are far less likely to establish a stable married life when they in turn become adults. White women raised in single-parent families are 164 percent more likely to bear children out of wedlock themselves; they are 111 percent more likely to have children as teen-agers. If these women do marry, their marriages are 92 percent more likely to end in divorce than are the marriages of women raised in two-parent families. Similar trends are found among black women.

Long-term dependency on welfare also appears to be passed down from one generation to another. Of the over four million families currently receiving assistance through Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), well over half will remain dependent for over 10 years, many for 15 years or longer. Children raised in families that receive welfare assistance are themselves three times more likely than other children to be on welfare when they become adults. This inter-generational dependency is a clear indication that the welfare system is failing in its goal to lift the poor from poverty to self-sufficiency.

Welfare's Cruel Logic

By nature, Americans are optimists and believe that all problems have solutions. Therefore, American politicians and the public have difficulty believing that there are no easy solutions to the anti-marriage, anti-work incentives provided by the current welfare system. But no easy solutions exist.

In the current public debate there are a number of quick fixes to welfare that fall short of true reform. The most common of these is the current liberal drive to encourage work and reduce dependency by "making work pay." Under these proposals, the key to welfare reform is to ensure that all single mothers will be financially better off in the job market than on welfare.

While a step in the right direction, there are two problems with this idea. First, the average welfare mother receives around $11,000 per year in welfare benefits plus Medicaid. Thus the mother must obtain a job with medical coverage paying more than $11,000 per year (or $5.50 per hour) in order to be even slightly better off

The present system has created whole communities where traditional two-parent families have vanished, work is rare or non-existent, and multiple generations have grown up dependent on government transfers.

with a job than on welfare. Second, even if every mother could be guaranteed a job with medical coverage paying say $7.00 per hour, the financial incentives for taking a job would remain slight. For example, if a mother gives up welfare benefits worth $11,000 per year plus Medicaid and takes a full-time job with medical coverage paying $14,000 per year (or $7.00 per hour), she obtains an annual post-tax income increase of about $2,500 in exchange for working 2,000 hours during the course of the year. This is an effective pay rate of $1.25 per hour. The AFDC mother is expected to make a very large increase in labor for very little, if any, financial reward.

A similar recommendation is to reduce the disincentives to marriage by raising the earnings capacity of low-income fathers. While this would be another step in the right direction, it would not eliminate the anti-marriage effects of conventional welfare. Even if the earnings capacity of all low-income fathers were raised to the point

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

where *every* working father could provide a standard of living for his family higher than the standard of living welfare provides to single mothers—low-income mothers and fathers would still be better off financially if they avoided marriage.

The economic logic of welfare is simple and cruel. If a mother and father do not marry, their joint income is the value of welfare benefits for the mother plus the father's earnings. If they do marry their joint income equals the father's earnings alone. Another way of expressing this dilemma is that the welfare system imposes an extraordinarily high marginal tax rate (that is, income loss rate) on the act of marriage. If a man earning $10,000 per year marries a mother on welfare, their joint income (including the value of the welfare benefits) would fall by some 50 percent. If a man earning $20,000 marries a mother on welfare, the couple's joint income would fall some 30 percent.

Seven Reforms

Many current liberal proposals fall short because they add small new rewards for constructive behavior while ignoring the huge rewards for idleness and single parenthood already embedded in the present welfare system.

Most unwed mothers are not promiscuous; the father of the child is well known to them. He should pay support.

Serious welfare reform must not only provide new incentives for positive behavior, it must also reduce the huge rewards for destructive behavior that exist in the current system.

What is needed is a comprehensive welfare reform strategy that would balance these two key elements. Not only must it increase the rewards for work and marriage among low-income families, it must reduce the incentives currently provided by welfare for non-work and single parenthood.

Although many elements of comprehensive reform can be implemented at the state level, state actions should be complemented by tax relief and an overhaul of the U.S. medical system at the federal level. While tax policy and medical reform are formally outside the welfare system, reforms in these areas would have a significant impact on the opportunities and behavior of low-income families, and therefore are an important part of any welfare reform strategy.

A comprehensive welfare reform package would include seven important policy innovations:

1) Require work in return for benefits. States should require some but not all welfare recipients to work in exchange for benefits received. Recipients of food stamps and general assistance who are not elderly and not disabled and who are not directly caring for small children should be required to obtain a job or if a job is not available to perform community service for at least 20 hours per week. Within the AFDC program, mothers who do not have children under age five or who have received AFDC for over five years should be required to find private-sector employment. If such employment is not available, they should be required to perform community service for at least 35 hours per week in exchange for benefits. In all two-parent families receiving AFDC, one parent should be required to work. For all programs the work requirement should be permanent, lasting as long as the individual or family receives benefits.

This policy specifically exempts most mothers with pre-school children from the work requirement. Because of the high costs of providing day care, work requirements for mothers with pre-school children would almost certainly increase rather than cut welfare costs. Moreover, great caution should be exercised toward any policy that separates young children from their mothers, as this will often have a significant negative effect on the child's development. Thus a well-designed work program generally would not include mothers with young children. However, a second rule requiring work from mothers who have received AFDC payments for over five years, either continuously or in separate periods, is needed to discourage mothers from intentionally having additional children to avoid their work obligation.

If a work requirement of the sort outlined here were established, roughly 50 percent of AFDC mothers would be required to work as a condition of receiving benefits. This would be an enormous improvement from the present situation; in the average state only 6 percent of AFDC mothers currently participate in job search, work, or training programs.

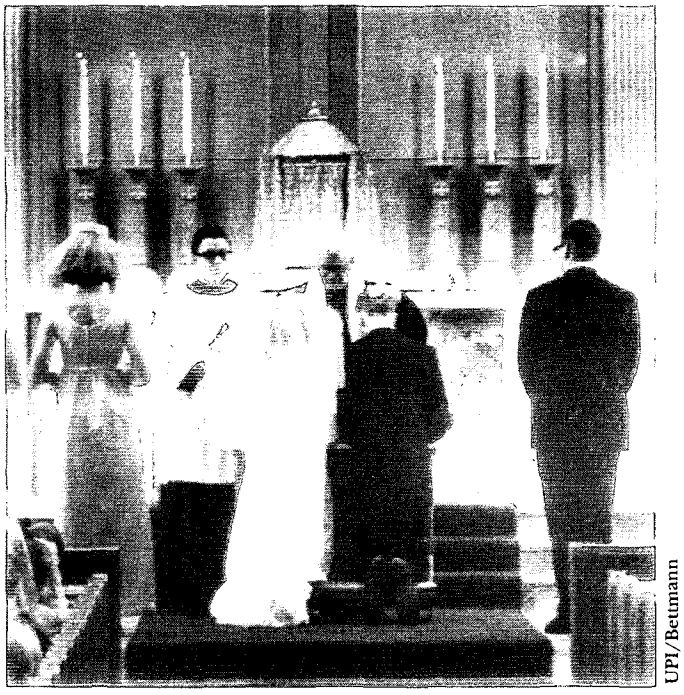
Of the seven reforms of the welfare incentive system presented here, the work requirement is the most important. Under the current welfare system a non-working single mother receives an income from the government for free; if she becomes employed she must give up all or part of this free income. However, if the welfare recipient is required to work in exchange for benefits, a new cost is attached to welfare dependence and the attractiveness of welfare relative to employment is greatly reduced. Indeed, if the work requirement can be coupled with other government policies that ensure the family will be somewhat better off financially when the mother is employed than when the family is on welfare, then the anti-work incentives of welfare would be utterly eliminated. However, as long as the welfare recipient has the option of receiving a sizeable income from the government without work, then it will be impossible through other means to reduce significantly welfare's anti-work incentives.

Surprisingly, a work requirement also eliminates the anti-marriage incentives of the current welfare system. Under the current welfare system, when a single mother marries a fully employed male she loses most of her welfare benefits. Under a welfare system with a work requirement, a single mother still would lose her benefits upon marrying—but she would now be losing benefits

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that she had to earn rather than a free income, so the loss would be far less significant. As long as the mother could obtain a private-sector job that paid roughly as much as welfare, then marriage would no longer impose a significant financial or personal cost on the mother or her prospective spouse. Indeed, if required to work for welfare benefits, some welfare mothers would prefer to marry and be supported by a husband's income rather than enter the labor force. Converting welfare from free income to income that must be earned would make marriage economically rational once again for millions of low-income parents.

While few states have attempted to establish serious work requirements for AFDC parents, those experimental programs that do exist indicate that work requirements can have a significant impact in reducing welfare dependency. As part of a workfare program operated on an experimental basis in six Ohio counties, AFDC mothers were required to perform community service for 20 hours per week. While only 25 percent of all AFDC mothers were required to participate, the work program reduced the overall number of families on AFDC by some 12 percent. In other words, for every 100 mothers who were required to work in exchange for benefits, over 40 mothers left welfare entirely.



UPI/Bettmann

The current welfare system has made marriage economically irrational for most low-income parents.

2) Reduce benefits. Welfare benefits for families on AFDC should be reduced. This is particularly true in states with high benefits levels. AFDC recipients are eligible for benefits from nearly one dozen major welfare programs. In all but five states, the combined value of benefits received by the average AFDC family exceeds the federal poverty income threshold. Moreover, there is considerable inequality in welfare benefit levels within each state. Because some families receive aid from many programs, they will have overall benefits much greater than other welfare families of the same size and characteristics within the state. AFDC families who also receive housing aid will have overall benefits some $4,000 to $5,000 higher than other AFDC families within the state. In almost every state such families will have combined welfare benefits well above the poverty threshold. States should reduce AFDC payments to families who also receive housing aid.

3) Require responsible behavior. States should require responsible behavior as a condition of receiving welfare benefits. This would include policies such as insisting that unmarried minor mothers reside with their parents or in some other adult-supervised setting, and reducing payments to mothers who fail to provide their children with free immunizations. Most important, mothers who bear additional children while they are already receiving welfare should not receive an increase in welfare benefits.

4) Establish paternity and enforce child-support payments. Single mothers should not be eligible for welfare unless they are willing to identify the father of their children. Contrary to popular perception, most unwed mothers are not promiscuous; the father of the child is well known to them. In cases where more than one male may be the father, modern scientific methods permit the determination of the true biological parent with nearly absolute certainty.

All single mothers prospectively enrolling in the AFDC program should be required to have the paternity of their child legally established as a condition of receiving benefits. The absent fathers should then be required to pay child support to offset at least some of the costs of providing welfare to their children. If an absent father claims he cannot pay child support because he cannot find work, he should be required to perform community service to pay off his child-support obligations.

Establishing a rigorous paternity and child-support system will greatly reduce the incentives for young males to enhance their macho image by siring children out of wedlock whom they have no intention of supporting. Another benefit of the proposed system is that it increases the rewards to responsible couples who marry relative to those who do not and thus, over time, will encourage marriage. However, a warning is needed: the government should avoid aggressively pursuing child support payments among young, low-skilled males without the firm backup of required community service for absent fathers who report they are unemployed. Aggressive child-support activities among this group without an accompanying community service requirement will counterproductively induce many young men to leave the labor force or work "off the books" to evade their child-support obligations.

5) Enforce education requirements. States presently fail to enforce the current federal law requiring all AFDC mothers under age 18 who have not completed high school or passed a GED to attend school. This provision should be enforced. To avoid the negative affects of separating infants from their mothers, however, mothers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with infant children should not be required to participate for more than 20 hours per week.

6) Provide tax credits or vouchers for medical coverage to all working families. The current welfare system provides free medical coverage to single parents and non-working two-parent families on AFDC, but does not provide medical assistance to low-income working families. This discourages work because a welfare mother considering a low-income job in a small firm—which typically will not include a health benefits plan—faces the loss of thousands of dollars' worth of medical benefits if she accepts employment. It also discourages marriage because a welfare mother marrying a man in a low-wage job in a firm without family medical benefits will again lose medical coverage.

If liberal axioms were correct, the War on Poverty would have led to stronger marriages and lower crime.

The federal government could reduce the anti-work/anti-marriage effects of welfare by enacting the comprehensive medical reform proposed by The Heritage Foundation in *A National Health System for America.* This plan would, among other reforms, provide federal tax credits and vouchers for the purchase of medical insurance to low-income working families not eligible for Medicaid. A proposal similar to the Heritage plan recently was introduced by President Bush.

7) Provide tax relief to all families with children. The federal government currently imposes heavy taxes on low-income working families with children. A family of four making $20,000 a year currently pays $3,780 in federal taxes. This heavy taxation promotes welfare dependence by reducing the rewards of work and marriage relative to welfare. A crucial step in welfare reform is broad family tax relief along the lines proposed in The Heritage Foundation's *A Prosperity Plan for America: How to Strengthen Family Finances, Revive the Economy, and Balance the Budget.* This plan would provide a $1,000 tax credit for each school-age child and a $1,500 tax credit for each pre-school child; the tax credits could be used to reduce the family's income-tax liability and both the employee and employer share of the Social Security payroll tax. The plan would eliminate all federal taxes on working families with children with incomes below 120 percent of the poverty threshold. The revenue loss of these tax credits would be offset by corresponding spending constraints through capping the growth of total federal domestic spending at 5 percent per annum. Thus the plan would not add to the federal deficit.

Responsibility and Incentives

Reform of the welfare system must ultimately be based on two principles. The first is personal responsibility. Society should provide aid to those in need. But aid that is merely a one-way handout is harmful to both society and the recipient. Such aid undermines the individual's ability to take responsibility for his or her own life. If the habit of dependence becomes entrenched, it destroys the individual's capability to become a fully functioning member of mainstream society. Currently, welfare is a check in the mail with no obligations. Reformed welfare should be based on reciprocal responsibility; society will provide assistance, but able-bodied recipients must be expected to behave responsibly and to contribute back to society in exchange for the benefits they receive.

The second principle is that incentives matter. Any attempt to reform the current structure of public welfare must begin with the realization that most programs designed to alleviate material poverty have led to an increase in behavioral poverty. The rule in welfare, as in other government programs, is simple: you get what you pay for. For over 40 years the welfare system has been paying for non-work and single parenthood and has obtained dramatic increases in both. But welfare that discourages work and penalizes marriage ultimately harms its intended beneficiaries.

The incentives provided by welfare must be reversed. But balance is crucial: comprehensive welfare reform must combine toughness and refusal to reward negative behavior with positive rewards for constructive behavior. Reforms that fail to include both sides of the equation will not succeed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why Americans Are Angry

Rush Limbaugh on the Politics of 1992

An Interview by William J. Bennett

No one has a better pulse on the concerns of the American people than radio talk-show host Rush Limbaugh, whose daily three-hour midday show is carried on nearly 500 stations with an audience of 12 million. *Policy Review* asked William J. Bennett, former education secretary and now The Heritage Foundation's Distinguished Fellow in Cultural Policy Studies, to interview Limbaugh on the political and cultural issues of 1992.

The interview took place on June 1, 1992. On his show that day, a blind and mostly deaf woman called from San Francisco to thank Limbaugh for telling listeners to be as good as they can be. She said this had given her the courage to get a job. To the music of "She's Come Undone," Limbaugh quoted an Anita Hill commencement speech that he said totally discredited her testimony against Clarence Thomas. He read from a Bill Safire column critical of Ross Perot's explanations of why he used political pressure to leave the Navy early. He made fun of the enormous airconditioning units and "acres of carpet" installed at the Rio conference. Limbaugh also played a tape of a 30-year-old Hubert Humphrey speech on the family as "the basic social institution of all civilization" and compared it to Dan Quayle's speech on Murphy Brown.

Bennett: Why is there so much hostility to politicians this year as opposed to earlier years? Are politicians more corrupt than they used to be?

Limbaugh: The anger we are seeing is not at politics as usual, and it's not at existing political institutions. People are reacting to the welfare state, to the failure of liberalism. Say what you want about conservatives owning the White House, liberals have run the House of Representatives for 37 years. And people are sick and tired of being blamed for the failure of the grand liberal social experiment. The American people are blamed for homelessness; they're blamed for AIDS; when they get tax cuts, they're blamed for causing the deficit. They're tired of taking all this blame for problems they didn't cause.

Bennett: Would we have this disaffection if Ronald Reagan were still in the White House?

Limbaugh: If Reagan had had a third term that was like his second term, yes. Congress would still be in charge. The welfare state would still be there. Now we have Bush, who has caved on taxes, caved on the economy, caved on every principle except the pro-life movement. So Bush is seen to be part of the failure of liberalism.

If I could say anything to George Bush, it would be this: "Mr. President, the people of this country desperately want you to be and do what you said you were going to do in 1988. They would love to vote for you. And you can still do it, you can still make them feel that way. It's going to take an incredible amount of passion, because passion right now is the only thing that's going to make you believable, because there are too many legitimate doubts about your lip-service to these things that elected you in the first place."

Bennett: What accounts for Ross Perot's popularity?

Limbaugh: I think Perot convinces people that they matter again, that they're relevant, that what they want is what should happen. His message is, "You own the country, and we won't do anything until you say we should do it."

Say what you want about his lack of specificity, he's also the one candidate who doesn't run from a problem. Tell him you've got a problem, he says, "Our highest priority is to fix that. We'll do it, too. I'll do whatever it takes; you won't see me anywhere but that Oval Office, that midnight-oil light burning, sleeves rolled up, working on it." He makes people think that, by virtue of his presence, things are going to happen that haven't happened. It's his presence, the fact he's on the scene. The specificity of "how" is irrelevant to them at this point.

I talk to Perot people on my show, and meet them when travelling around the country. They are upwardly mobile, middle- and upper-middle-class people, who are just fed up with what they see as the decline of the country. They may not be able to voice it, it may be in their subconscious, and Perot is bringing it out.

Bennett: Why are you so concerned about the scandals in Congress? Is this a major issue in and of itself? Or is the corruption in Congress a symbol of a broader corrup-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion—for instance the general breakdown of morality in society, or the inability of government to take proper care of the taxpayers' money?

Limbaugh: The scandals in Congress are a problem in themselves. There's an elementary reason for the outrage over the House Bank. What were those guys doing? They were using the advantages that they gave to themselves to acquire money that wasn't theirs, that they didn't earn.

The acquisition of money drives everybody. I resent the assault on the '80s, the notion that it was a decade of greed and selfishness. There hasn't been a generation on this planet that hasn't tried to do better than the previous generation. It's nothing new for people to try to get raises and improve their lot in life. Raises and promotions are the things that life's made of, the way people define their achievements and success.

Most people play by the rules. They go to work, and if the job doesn't pay enough, they try another job. They can't get a raise every time they want; they have to work for it. Here you had congressmen who were able to write themselves checks for money. It didn't matter whether they earned it, whether they received a raise. They had access to money in ways that nobody else does. The profound anger people feel is easily understandable.

Bennett: Other than congressional reform, what are the most important issues for the elections this year?

Limbaugh: The critical issue is to reestablish a solid moral foundation of values. That's really not so difficult, because most people of this country already have strong moral values. They're not represented in the mainstream media, where things people believe are made fun of. Most people feel that moral decay is at the root of all the ills we have in society.

That's why Quayle's speech on the family was so important. This was like handing an issue to the Republicans on a silver platter, an issue they used successfully in '80, '84, and '88. I don't think that specific issues are all that crucial in terms of winning. People have all heard candidates say what they're going to do about the deficit. What will really sway people is character, principle, and passion.

Bennett: Can a president really do much, though, to influence morals? What could the next president do in the first 100 or first 500 days to put values back where they belong?

Limbaugh: The kind of judges a president chooses make a big difference. Capital punishment represents the will of the people, but every time there's a death-penalty conviction, liberal judges and organizations try to overturn it. Robert Alton Harris, and therefore the will of the people of California, would still not have been executed if Ronald Reagan and George Bush had not been president and appointed judges who, by virtue of their opinions on judicial restraint, deferred to the will of the people as expressed in the law.

Somebody—maybe a president—needs to straighten out the confusion over the separation of church and state in the schools. It is reprehensible that you can't teach kids not to steal or commit adultery because it has a religious origin.

I'd like a president to say, "The next time people set a city on fire, we're going to move in with whatever force it takes to stop it." And then, when it happens, do it.

What presidents can do, as much as anything else, is motivate people to be confident about their lives and their moral beliefs. This is what Reagan did. He made people understand that they're not insignificant in the functioning of the great institutions of the country. Reagan made people feel good about themselves, which is probably why the economy did so well.

We hear a lot of bashing of the '80s. But people were motivated then. If you ask today, "Would you rather be where you were in '84 or now?" I think most people would look back at the '80s with a little nostalgia. Reagan awakened their confidence.

Bennett: How would you cut the $400-billion deficit without raising taxes?

Limbaugh: I'd lower taxes. Lowering rates encourages people to earn dollars—and report dollars—and enables people willing to risk their capital to be rewarded if they succeed. That's why I want to eliminate the capital-gains tax. The Democrats say that will only help the rich, but the simple fact is that this economy will not be revived without somebody doing well. Somebody's going to benefit greatly, and why not the people who take the risk?

It's interesting how the liberals all attacked the deficit during Reagan's terms. Now the deficit's twice as high as it ever was with Reagan, and you never hear it assailed. The reason is that the people who were doing the assailing had their chance at fixing it in 1990, and all they did was double it. I say, bring back supply-side, bring back lower tax rates, bring back reward for achievement, particularly for those who take the risk.

Bennett: Are you worried about America? Do you think we'll get through a third century?

Limbaugh: Of course I'm worried. But you can read the intellectuals of every generation, the letters to the editor of every generation, and you'll find a common thread: most people think that everything is going to hell in a handbasket. Maybe this is a characteristic of being human.

The big debate topic at my grandfather's high school was on immigration: should we keep southern Europeans out? They'll just pollute the country, people said. Now people in California see a new kind of immigrant, and they think the country's going to hell.

Bennett: Well, are you worried about a balkanization of American life? Some ethnic groups, for example, listen only to ethnic radio stations, read only ethnic newspapers, and maybe they'll be going to ethnic schools soon. Will this lead to a loss of common values?

Limbaugh: There are a lot of ethnic groups where we don't see this problem, particularly those who are recent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

emigrés. I've always found it amazing when Vietnamese or Koreans arrive here without knowing a syllable of the language, and five to seven years later they're running businesses in previously burned-out, bombed-out neighborhoods. The family's intact, that's the key. They're all working at the store, and their kids are going to school and acing out everybody on SAT scores, because they bring with them the ethic of hard work and family togetherness.

Why does that not happen with as many blacks? The black experience in the United States is unique because of the original sin of slavery. But beyond that, I think there are too many black leaders who do not want prosperity for their flock. This is one of the most amazing contradictions I've ever seen. Black activists are all running around decrying the condition of black America. Yet, when you point out, wait a minute, the largest sector of the black population is middle class, they don't want to hear it. Meanwhile leaders like Clarence Thomas are ridiculed and insulted and called Uncle Toms.

I remember a report by two black sociologists on the Cosby show. They said, "Overall, we give this show an 'F.' It portrays blacks in America in a totally unrealistic way. It sends the message to white and black America that blacks can make it if they only will try. And we think this is a wrong message to send." The fact is, there are families like the Huxtables out there, and there are more of them than Al Sharpton or Jesse Jackson or Ben Hooks would care to admit. And I think that the mechanism is in place for these people to succeed. We just have to share it with all of them.

The L.A. riots and the poverty in the cities result from people growing up hearing day after day, "You can't make it. This is an unjust, unfair country. The only way you're going to make it is to raise hell, protest, follow us." I am firmly convinced that, whether by accident or by design, whether it was good intentions or bad, as many black people as possible are being told not to try, because if they do succeed, who's it going to embarrass? It will embarrass their leaders.

Bennett: Some of my friends say that radical feminism is the most destructive doctrine of the past 25 years in terms of the actual human misery it has caused—the wrecked marriages, unhappiness, arguments between husbands and wives, neglect of children, abortions.

Limbaugh: They're right. But I think the militant feminists—and this is true of militant environmentalists, the animal-rights movement, the peace movement, the vegetarian crowd—are using their issues as vehicles for something else. Their real goal is a more socialist, big-government, equal-distribution-of-results country. They're also tired of being thought of as weird subcultures, so they're standing up and shouting, demanding that what they are and what they believe be considered normal. The unfortunate thing is, the media are willingly on their side.

Nicaragua had a big effect on these movements. The Left in this country and throughout the world was convinced that Daniel Ortega was going to win that election by a landslide. Then Violeta Chamorro won in a huge landslide, and the Left was stunned. I'm convinced that the Left vowed never to let anything like this happen again.

That's why the real homes of the hideous leftist leaders are in the animal-rights movement, and, more important, the environmental movement. These are constituencies that cannot speak, that, unlike the people of Nicaragua, cannot ever reject the assistance that the Left is giving them. Besides, who can oppose saving the life of Flipper? And who in the world wants dirty water?

Bennett: I see, the majority of women might stand up and say, "Actually, we believe Clarence Thomas, not Anita Hill," which is what they did. But the dolphins can't say, "Frankly, we'd rather be represented by someone else."

Limbaugh: Precisely. Nor can the redwoods, nor can the spotted owls. Some guy named Oppenheimer on the Brinkley show was talking about the Earth Summit, and said the only hope for the world is to make sure there is not another United States: "We can't let other countries have the number of cars, the amount of industrialization, we have in the United States. We have to stop these Third-World countries in their development right where they are. And it is important to the rest of the world to make sure that they don't suffer economically by virtue of our stopping them." That's hideous! That's the most outrageous example of arrogant elitism I can think of, and he just spelled out exactly what the environmental movement's all about. It's anti-capitalist; for them, capitalism is the problem.

They're wrong. Poverty and suffering are not due to the unequal distribution of goods and resources, but to the unequal distribution of capitalism. The environmental movement, feminists, and all these groups stand in the way of continued capitalism. They want big government.

Bennett: Who are your heroes, living or dead?

Limbaugh: Abraham Lincoln saved the nation, and went to war to get rid of slavery. He knew that a nation cannot be free when one man is allowed to own another. As the founder of the Republican Party, Lincoln was trying to establish the most basic of human rights. The Republican Party faced a similar battle on abortion in Salt Lake City. When human rights become subordinated to market forces, which is what has happened in our country, we need more Abraham Lincolns with the courage to stand up and die for what they believe.

My father was a hero because he did for me what only two or three teachers in my life did. He always told me I could do better. I would get mad at him. Nothing was ever good enough for him, and I got very angry, but the desire to please eventually took second place to the desire to actually do my best.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Making the World Safe for America

The Heritage "Blueprint" and Its Critics

Sketching a conservative strategy for American foreign policy in the post-Cold War and post-Soviet world, The Heritage Foundation issued a special report in April 1992 entitled "Making the World Safe for America: A U.S. Foreign Policy Blueprint." The blueprint was written by a Heritage committee chaired by Kim R. Holmes, director of foreign policy and defense studies, and Jay P. Kosminsky, deputy director of foreign policy and defense studies, and it was edited by Burton Yale Pines, then Heritage's senior vice president for research. It is published here in slightly abridged form, followed by responses from seven foreign policy specialists: Lee Edwards, Charles H. Fairbanks Jr., Fred Charles Iklé, Penn Kemble, Keith B. Payne, Robert L. Pfaltzgraff Jr., and Peter R. Rosenblatt.

The world-shattering event of this century—the collapse of the Soviet Union—has left a vacuum in American foreign policy. For over 45 years the goal of containing Soviet Communism guided the strategy of the United States. Now that the Cold War is over, America urgently needs to chart a new course.

The collapse of the Soviet empire and of global Communism is a victory for America with few parallels in world history. It particularly is a victory for American conservatives. Throughout the Cold War, it was conservatives who reminded Americans, no matter how great the temptation to forget, that the nation was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with Soviet Communism. After decades of struggle, the Cold War finally was won by a conservative president who drew the line between good and evil, safety and danger, and mobilized the nation to commit the resources to defend that line.

For conservatives, the potency of the Soviet threat created what amounted to a 40-year national emergency, overshadowing virtually all other foreign and defense policy considerations. With the Soviet Union now relegated to history, the central unifying principle of contemporary conservative foreign policy—anti-Sovietism—can be abandoned. For conservatives to continue to lead in the coming era, we must identify the underlying principles and values that led us to the barricades of the Cold War, and to apply these principles to the challenges America will face as it enters a new era in global politics.

Limited Government and Foreign Policy

Conservatives take seriously the precept that individuals are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights, and that the sole legitimate purpose of government is to safeguard these rights. This principle extends to the realm of foreign and defense policy. The main purpose of America's foreign and defense policy is to protect the lives, liberty, and property of Americans. The sole purpose of asking American soldiers to sacrifice their lives is to protect the lives, liberty, and property of Americans from foreign threats. But other forms of foreign policy, such as diplomacy and foreign aid, can advance the broad principles that underlie the American republic and thus buttress American interests.

While American conservatives believe that the rights of man are universal, we believe also that they are embodied concretely in the American experience, its Constitution, and its political and economic institutions. As Edmund Burke said, "Abstract liberty, like other mere abstractions, is not to be found." The principles of American liberty and rights must live and breathe in the laws and institutions of a real and existing government. All men and women, regardless of where they live, may have inalienable rights, as conceived by the Declaration of Independence, but it is the duty of the U.S. government to protect these rights for Americans.

While America may be part of Western civilization, and thus has an interest in promoting Western values around the world, the first obligation of the U.S. government is to advance these values for the sake of its own citizens. This is not intended to be selfish, but rather to represent a proper understanding of the limited role of government. The U.S. government has no right to tax its citizens or call them to arms for any purpose unless it directly or indirectly protects or promotes the lives, liberty, and property of the citizens who have entrusted the government with authority over them.

Seen in this light, the government's obligation to protect American interests is not cynical but a high moral act; the government has no right to exceed its authority

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AP/Wide World Photos

America must continue to play a global role, not out of altruism or moralism or a calling to leadership, but because only through an active and engaged foreign policy can Americans hope to control their own destiny and thus ensure their hard-earned freedoms.

and to crusade for democracy or freedom around the world for its own sake or exclusively for the sake of others. The government may wish to provide humanitarian aid to promote democracy and other Western values around the world, but it should do so only if it does not contradict U.S. vital interests and has the explicit support of the American people.

To preserve American liberties and ensure that the obligations of civil government are met, American citizens implicitly consent to surrender some of their freedom to the state, granting it limited power over those within—and occasionally outside—its borders.

Earlier in this century, most conservatives still believed that America could best protect its interests by isolating itself from the affairs of the world. They rightly feared that the moralistic crusades of Woodrow Wilson and other idealists could lead American foreign policy astray from its purpose, involving Americans in limitless foreign entanglements in which they had little real stake.

Today, however, most conservatives recognize that in an era of global trade and long-range weapons, the lives and liberties of Americans can be threatened by events far from our shores. Most conservatives have come to accept that defending America means not only protecting the nation's borders and airspace, but also its global interests, including access to vital resources and to the seas. Defending America also means preventing the world's key industrial and economic centers of Europe and Asia, and the key resource center of the Persian Gulf, from being controlled by powers hostile to the U.S. As long as threats to these interests remain, America needs an active and engaged foreign policy.

A Continuing Global Role

No threat comparable to the Soviet Cold War challenge is on the horizon. In the post-Soviet world, the job of protecting America's vital interests thus will be less strenuous. With foreign policy no longer a zero-sum game, America can choose not to become involved in many conflicts. When Armenia fights Azerbaijan, or Croatia fights Serbia, America can let others take the lead, because no American vital interests are at stake. With a reduced threat also can come a smaller investment in defense and the withdrawal of hundreds of thousands of the Americans now stationed in Europe and elsewhere around the world.

Still, the world threatens to intrude on America's Eden. Russia with its vast arsenal could slip back into some form of militarism. Over the longer term, Germany and Japan—this century's two other revanchist states—pose uncertainties now that they, for the first time since World War II, are freed from military reliance on America and hence from direct American influence. The European Community is demonstrating clear signs of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photofest

A cinematic Napoleon plotting the conquest of Europe. One of America's enduring vital interests is to prevent the domination of Europe, East Asia, or the Persian Gulf by a hostile power.

economic protectionism, a clear challenge to America's economic growth and prosperity.

Tyrannical anti-Western regimes that do not share America's vision of the world—Iran, Iraq, Libya, North Korea, to name a few—are developing arsenals that could threaten the lives and interests of Americans around the world. The spread of nuclear weapons and long-range missiles, now abetted by the availability of former Soviet scientists and technology, could give many states the ability to attack and destroy America if America remains undefended against these attacks.

In this uncertain world, America must continue to play a global role, not out of altruism or moralism or a calling to leadership, but because only through an active and engaged foreign policy can Americans hope to control their own destiny and thus ensure their hard-earned freedoms. And America will need military forces able to defend its territory against attack, and to intervene quickly and decisively when the nation's critical interests genuinely are threatened.

Just as we did during the Cold War, conservatives have the clarity of purpose, commitment to ideas, determination to use appropriate means, and ultimately the faith needed to lead America toward a foreign and defense policy that protects American interests and befits the character of a free people. The world has changed, but the objective of conservatives remains constant: to make the world safe for America.

Ten Conservative Principles

Conservative policies won the Cold War. Americans now will tend to look to conservatives for policies to lead the nation into the new era. The anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism of conservatives sprang from a set of values and principles that in part pre-date and in part have been shaped and influenced by the Cold War experience. Conservatives first should look inward to these precepts to formulate a policy for the post-Cold War world. There are 10 of these.

1) Foreign policy is domestic policy. The American nation declared its independence from Britain to secure the liberties of its citizenry. The United States was constituted to protect these liberties from foreign and domestic threats, including the power of government itself. As such, foreign policy is not an end in itself, but a means to secure the greatest possible degree of liberty, freedom, and opportunity for Americans from foreign threats. It has no other purpose. Policies failing to advance this end are not in the national interest. This excludes at one extreme isolationist policies, which can permit external threats to develop and grow. At the other end, it excludes policies that risk the lives of Americans for such purposes as territorial aggrandizement, imperial adventure, or missionary crusading—even for such lofty purposes as the spread of democracy. American foreign policy should serve this nation, and none other.

2) America's vital geopolitical interests must be protected. To secure the life, liberty, and property of Americans from external threats, American foreign and defense policy must be geared toward protecting the nation's basic interests. The practice of American diplomacy and defense policy, particularly over the past 100 years, points to five of America's vital geopolitical interests:

- Protecting the nation's land, sea, and air frontiers. This is to assure the physical security of the nation's territory and its citizenry.
- Preventing domination of Europe, East Asia, or the Persian Gulf by a hostile power. Europe and East Asia both possess the industrial and technological resources to pose a military threat capable of overwhelming America if either were to come under the domination of a hostile power; America fought two world wars and the Cold War this century to defend this interest. The Persian Gulf contains enormous oil wealth that could be used by a hostile hegemonic power to fuel a massive military buildup that could include nuclear weapons and intercontinental ballistic missiles. This economic potential, combined with the radical anti-Western ideologies of ruthless regimes in the region, presents a long-term danger that cannot be ignored.
- Protecting market access and free trade. From America's "open door" policy toward China at the start of this century to the formation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) after World War II, America, a trading nation, has recognized that free trade is necessary for its prosperity; free trade cannot be assured without the military muscle to keep open critical sea and air lanes.
- Assuring access to resources.
- Protecting Americans against personal threats to their lives and well-being, such as terrorism and drug trafficking.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

3) Free trade is vital to prosperity. Support for the free exchange of goods and services across national boundaries is a natural extension of the fundamental conservative—or classical liberal—principle of maximizing economic liberty by curtailing the intrusive power of the state. Barriers to trade, designed precisely to eliminate international competition, slow growth and ultimately limit individual Americans' economic opportunities and choices. Foreign policy can expand these opportunities. Negotiating liberalized trade, for example, gives American consumers greater access to foreign goods and American producers greater access to foreign markets.

4) Free markets and democracy abroad should be encouraged. Ronald Reagan invoked the time-honored vision of America as a "shining city upon a hill." Conservatives take these words seriously. Unlike the nations of the Old World, America was chosen by those who came to its shores to escape tyranny and privation, and is defined not only by a common language and culture, but also by the self-evident truths embodied in its Declaration of Independence and Constitution.

America's foreign policy reflects the character of a free people. Rather than choose the path of empire, America has ensured simply that others could not dominate in regions critical to America's interests. And when America has conquered, as it did in World War II, it has not created colonies to whom it could dictate. Instead, America transferred to its former enemies, Germany and Japan, the democratic institutions that might secure their own liberties—and ultimately America's—from the dangers of resurgent tyranny, and to bring these countries into a free trading system in which victors and vanquished could prosper together. While the long-term outcome of this strategy is unknowable, America today stands secure, as empires crumble.

In this sense, America's democratic traditions have proved a powerful agent for the advancement of America's interests in the world. Even where America has not imposed democracy directly, as in Germany and Japan, American liberty has been a beacon for others who sought freedom and eventually succeeded in overthrowing a threatening Communist tyranny in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union itself. In John Foster Dulles's words, America's democratic traditions have shown "men everywhere the way to a better and more abundant life," and in the process made the world a safer place for America.

While the United States has no obligation to spread free markets or democracy abroad, their spread generally is in America's interest. Free markets create opportunities for American businesses and make America more prosperous. Democratic states with multi-party systems, limited governments, and Western values are more likely to be peaceable and friendly toward America. Countries that value stability at home, with their citizens free to pursue their individual political and economic interests, naturally will contribute to stability abroad.

While the spread of democracy and free markets virtually by definition is in America's interests, the question that arises is the means by which America will advance democracy. Unless American interests are involved directly, these means almost without exception will be economic and diplomatic. While altruism surely is a noble instinct for individuals, governments are established solely to protect the interests of their own citizens. American resources, and lives, should be committed abroad sparingly and with the nation's interests in mind, no matter how noble the cause.

Often the search for a higher cause can confuse matters. The Gulf War of 1991 has been called a failure because Kuwaitis, after having been freed from Iraqi aggression, remain politically disenfranchised by their own autocratic government. But the intent of the war, from America's standpoint, never was to liberate Kuwaitis *per se*, although this would have been a serendipitous outcome. Rather, it was to support America's interests by destroying the Iraqi army and its weapons of mass destruction, and safeguarding oil supplies. Most of these goals were met.

America is not and should not be in the business of sending its armies abroad to benefit others when no American interests are at stake. Americans are a generous people and may at times wish to extend charity through the auspices of their government. But as a rule, charity is a job best left to private individuals and private organizations.

5) Good government is limited government. In the 20th century, as before, big government is the greatest threat to liberty. This has clear implications for American foreign policy. An overly ambitious foreign policy, particularly when it leads to military entanglement, poses domestic dangers because it fosters big government. Indeed, today's mammoth federal government is the product not so much of the New Deal but of the massive power assembled in Washington to wage World War II and the Cold War.

The huge Pentagon, of course, has preserved America's freedom; but it also legitimizes the vast centralization of power required to run the huge domestic programs started by Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon. Thus, while conservatives accepted the large Pentagon needed to wage the Cold War, with Soviet power waning, conservatives would welcome a dramatically smaller Pentagon and State Department.

6) Power still matters. In a world of sovereign states, conflicts of interest will continue to arise. In this sense, conservatives are realists. They do not believe that there is imminent consensus in the international system on which to found a new world order. To the extent there is order, it will be enforced by states with predominant power and influence. Power will continue to be exercised through the traditional tools of statecraft, including diplomatic negotiation, economic incentives and sanctions, and ultimately military force. To maintain control of its destiny and defend its interests, America will need the will and ability to exercise power in all its forms.

In most cases, the power exercised by America will be diplomatic and economic. War by its nature is an extreme means of exercising power and should be undertaken only when vital American values and interests are at stake. Senator Robert A. Taft spoke wisely to this issue on May 22, 1951: "My view is that American foreign policy should be directed primarily to the protection of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

liberty of the people of the United States, and that war should only be undertaken when necessary to protect that liberty, that we are not justified going to war simply to increase the standard of living of the people throughout the world, or to protect their liberty unless such protection is necessary for our own defense." By the same token, when war is waged it should be waged to win by a professional military freed to fight as it sees fit within the bounds of the nation's political objectives.

7) Foreign aid is not charity. Internationally, as at home, the most efficient and deserving form of welfare is that which assists those willing to work hard to help themselves. Except for rare cases of disaster when outright charity is called for, foreign assistance should be tailored to help individuals and nations to better themselves by encouraging private enterprise and investment. Massive handouts to foreign governments and government-to-government loans are not legitimate uses of American taxpayers' money. They also strengthen the size and power of governments in recipient nations, burden these nations with debt, and hamper economic growth. When assistance is given, it should be predicated on such measures as trade liberalization, deregulation, lower taxes, and other measures that spur economic growth, expand economic liberty, encourage investment, and ultimately allow these countries to prosper. This then creates new markets for American exports and new sources for American imports.

8) No nation or organization should have a veto over American actions. Sovereignty is the greatest guarantee of Americans' freedom. No institution, including the United Nations, should be given a veto over the sovereign decisions of the U.S. government, nor should United Nations approval be required for actions, military or otherwise, deemed in America's national interests. The defense of American liberty is justification enough.

9) Liberty cannot survive without order. In the international system no less than domestically, order is necessary if liberty is to survive. Civil government is obligated to keep social order, or domestic tranquility. Order is necessary for properly conducting long-term economic and political activities. Order makes it possible for people to work, save, invest, and sign contracts with the expectation that sacrifice today will bear fruit in the future. Order is a conservative principle.

Order, however, must not be confused with stasis. Change is inevitable as economies grow, technology advances, scientific discoveries are made, and civil society flourishes. What American conservatives seek to "conserve" through history is not any particular international order—not the status quo—but American sovereignty and liberty and the underlying values they represent.

10) History counsels commitment. Conservatives take their lessons from history. If there is a single overriding lesson for America from the history of this century it is this: America cannot ignore the affairs of the world and remain safe. After World War I, America learned the price of isolation. The country avoided the same mistake after World War II. America also learned from its mistakes in Vietnam and Lebanon that when the nation does become involved militarily in other states the American military must be allowed to fight to win.

The aggregate lesson of all this is that America must take its interests and its commitments seriously. Ronald Reagan's great strength was his clarity of purpose. He was not afraid to voice his belief in the values that make America great. He never flinched when American interests were at stake, and he pursued them relentlessly—in the face of opposition from international organizations, potential adversaries, and even allies. In so doing he restored America's self-respect in the eyes of the world and left America more secure than he found it. This legacy, a conservative legacy, gives conservatives the purpose and direction needed to lead America in the post-Soviet world.

Applying Conservative Principles

No single conservative principle alone is sufficient as a guide to policy. Some conservatives emphasize one or another to the exclusion of others. Public affairs analyst and presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan tends to take American nationalism to a near-isolationist extreme. Joshua Muravchik, a scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, seems to turn American exceptionalism into a mandate to crusade. George Bush is obsessed with stability and stasis.

Conservative principles must be applied collectively, with one tempering another. Together they constitute a general approach to America's role in the world, founded in the defense of America's vital interests, a faith in liberty, a devotion to basic American values and Western civilization, and a belief in the principles of limited government, free markets, and individual self-reliance.

In assessing concrete policy in a changing world, it is necessary first to identify the specific threats to each of America's interests, and to use conservative principles as a guide for devising strategies and policies for defending America against these threats.

Interest #1: Protect America's Territory and Airspace

Threat: Long-range missiles armed with nuclear weapons. While the former Soviet republics, now members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), promise to keep nuclear weapons under central control, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, and Ukraine have nuclear weapons capable of obliterating much of America in about half an hour. During the Cold War, the main threat to America had been a deliberate Soviet nuclear attack. The main threat now is of an accidental or unauthorized attack as political and military powers fragment in the former Soviet Union. Meanwhile, the former Soviet arsenal to this day continues to be modernized, and again would become a threat in the event of a reactionary coup in Moscow.

China also possesses long-range weapons armed with nuclear warheads, while several more nations, including such unstable states as Iran, Libya, and North Korea, are developing missile technology. U.S. and Soviet scientists now estimate that up to 10 countries by the next decade

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could have long-range ballistic missiles capable of reaching America. In the 21st century America could face a multitude of strategic nuclear threats—many nations armed with only a few long-range nuclear missiles that nonetheless pose a grave danger to the United States.

With proliferation of missile technology an increasing threat to America, deployment of anti-missile weapons now should be America's top defense priority. While America has the offensive nuclear weapons capacity today to respond in kind to any attack, it has no ability to defend itself in the event of an accidental or unauthorized attack, or an irrational attack by an unstable dictator.

Deploying an effective defense against a limited missile attack will require allowing the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty to lapse, now that America's treaty partner, the Soviet Union, no longer exists. The United States then could negotiate a new treaty permitting ground- and space-based defenses against limited attacks. Whether or not agreement is reached, the United States should deploy about 750 interceptors at six to eight sites across America, 1,000 space-based interceptors, and space-based sensors. Preferably the United States and Russia will cooperate on this program. The U.S. should begin deploying this system in 1996 and pursue a bold research and development program to deploy such advanced strategic defense initiative (SDI) systems as particle beams when they are ready in the next century.

Threat: Proliferation of mass-destruction weapons. Even if the United States defends itself against long-range missiles, the proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction still could pose a direct danger to U.S. territory. No system now planned is a leak-proof missile defense. Small but deadly nuclear or biological weapons could be smuggled into America by terrorists, sailed into ports, or delivered by small aircraft. Such weapons of mass destruction also could be used by small nations to deter America from taking military action in regions of the world critical to its security.

With the Soviet Union no longer around to provide diplomatic and military cover to the world's outlaw states, including those developing nuclear weapons, the United States can adopt tough new anti-proliferation measures. The gravity of the threat warrants the most serious actions. These should be coordinated where possible with NATO allies and Russia. America should not shrink from discriminating against states it considers potentially most hostile, for example Iran, Libya, and North Korea.

Anti-proliferation measures should include: 1) severe restrictions on the export of nuclear or other mass destruction technology to potentially hostile states; 2) increased budgets for intelligence to uncover mass destruction weapons programs around the world; 3) economic sanctions against states transferring dangerous technology to potentially hostile states; 4) military action to intercept dangerous technology transfers; and 5) military action to prevent the proliferation of mass destruction weapons.

A new proliferation concern is posed by the Commonwealth of Independent States. As central authority collapses in the former Soviet Union, nuclear technology, weapons experts, and perhaps nuclear weapons themselves could be sold to the highest foreign bidder. In response, the United States should step up its program to assist the CIS in identifying, transporting, storing, and destroying tactical nuclear weapons. This should include sending U.S. technical teams and advisors to the CIS, devoting intelligence resources—perhaps in cooperation with the KGB—to tracking ex-Soviet technology, scientists, and weapons inside and outside CIS borders, and taking military action and covert operations as needed to prevent rogue CIS assistance to hostile states seeking nuclear weapons. It also should include an across-the-board program to employ Russian military scientists in U.S. science projects including: fusion energy research, the superconducting supercollider program, the space exploration initiative, and the strategic defense initiative.

Drawing by Steve Schwalm for *Policy Review*

Ballistic missiles armed with nuclear weapons remain the number-one threat to America's survival.

Threat: Conflict on America's borders. In the post-Soviet era, there are no Great Power threats to the Western hemisphere. The security concerns that have driven U.S. Latin America policy, from the Monroe Doctrine to fears of Soviet expansion, have all but disappeared. America is fortunate to have no avowed enemies in the hemisphere except Fidel Castro's Cuban regime, which will not last long without its Soviet prop.

Yet, America's nearly 2,000-mile-long border with Mexico, home to 88 million people, is a concern for the coming century. An economically thriving and politically democratic Mexico could benefit the United States enormously; an impoverished and chaotic Mexico could create serious economic, social, and even security problems for the United States. Similarly, America cannot countenance serious instability in Central America, which could destabilize southern Mexico.

America's special economic link to Mexico can be strengthened through the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which should be a top foreign policy objective. The NAFTA would put Mexico unalterably on a course toward economic reform and prosperity and, along with it, political stability. The Enterprise for the Americas Initiative (EAI), which eventually could lead to a hemisphere-wide free trade zone, should be another high priority. No longer will the United States have any major stake in supporting Latin

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photofest

To maintain unchallenged freedom of the seas, the United States must deploy a strong navy capable of defeating regional encroachments on the sea lanes.

American governments, particularly dictatorial regimes, unless the alternative to them are groups that have close ties to the drug trade and would oppose U.S. efforts to open markets throughout the hemisphere. To oppose these groups, the United States can give Latin American governments military assistance and low-intensity conflict training. The use of U.S. troops in the hemisphere should be considered only if a major U.S. interest, principally access to the Panama Canal, is threatened.

Once Castro falls, the United States should assist Cuba's transition to a democratic free-market state by offering emergency food or medical assistance as required, offering technical advice to Cuba's new leaders in preparing low-tax, high-growth free-market policies, and removing all barriers to U.S.–Cuban trade and investment.

Interest #2: Prevent a Major Power Threat to Europe, Asia, or the Persian Gulf

Threat: Short-term revived Soviet threat. Even as its economy collapsed in 1991, the former Soviet Union outproduced all NATO members combined in major weapons systems, including tanks, artillery, armored troop carriers, and short- and long-range missiles. Even in its current weakened state, the ex-Soviet military far outclasses any other potential adversary except the United States. If the ex-Soviet military were to come under the control of reactionary forces, it could become an expansionist threat within the borders of the former Soviet Union, and even outside those borders in Eastern Europe and elsewhere along the ex-Soviet periphery.

While decreasing, the possibility of a revived threat from the CIS warrants a U.S. policy to ensure that the Soviet Union, or anything like it, is never put back together again. The goal of the United States should not be to guarantee a regional balance of power in the territory of the former Soviet Union—to prevent a democratic Russia, for example, from gaining preeminence in the region—but to encourage democracy and free markets in Russia and other republics as alternatives to totalitarianism and authoritarianism. While the United States can have only limited control over events in the former Soviet Union, it can strengthen the stability of elected governments committed to democratic and free-market reforms, particularly in Russia and Ukraine.

Measures to promote democratic and free-market reforms should include emergency food, medical aid, and technical assistance, including advisors on such matters as setting up banking systems and reducing taxes on Americans working in the new states. The United States and its allies also should set up "enterprise funds" to help nascent farms and small businesses get started, particularly in Russia. These funds should focus first on helping demobilized former Soviet military officers and defense-sector workers to start anew. A cooperative U.S.–Russian program to deploy global ballistic missile defenses also holds benefits for both countries and is a natural area of cooperation.

The United States should offer to begin negotiations with Russia and other former Soviet republics to conclude a free-trade area agreement. This would stimulate economic growth in Russia and other republics, signal American support for democratic and free-market reforms, and prevent one-sided economic concessions to Germany, Japan, or other industrial giants.

The United States, of course, should be ready if these efforts fail and if a Soviet Union is reconstituted. To hedge against this, cuts in U.S. armed forces should not outpace the ability to reconstitute a global force if the Soviet threat were to re-emerge. This implies an orderly and measured withdrawal of U.S. military forces from Europe and Asia. It also means that America must be able to rebuild a force to counter a global threat. The United States should continue research and development into anti-submarine warfare, advanced precision weapons, anti-satellite technology, new materials, electronic warfare, and high-energy weapons so that the Pentagon will be able to deploy a new generation of weapons quickly if necessary.

Threat: Eventual rise of another hostile major power in Europe. Throughout this century, Berlin and Moscow have been the centers of expansionist, revisionist discontent in Europe, leading to two world wars and the Cold War. With Germany reunited and America withdrawing the bulk of its military forces from Europe, Germany will be a question mark in the eyes of many Europeans until it demonstrates over time its commitment to democratic institutions and common security with its neighbors. Over the longer term, Russia, too, has the population and resources to threaten its neighbors.

With the last of the totalitarian threats to Europe now

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

disappearing and no other on the horizon, America's military involvement in Europe can be cut drastically. If the former Soviet threat continues to collapse, the United States need have no more than about 25,000 to 50,000 troops in Europe. In the meantime, however, somewhat higher levels of U.S. troops could be maintained for a few years if the situation in the former Soviet Union remains uncertain. As a sign of America's commitment, these troops would deter the type of hegemonic forces that eventually could upset the European balance and jeopardize America's interests. The U.S. troops in Europe thus would be mostly air and naval forces.

Given America's enduring interests in Europe and the price that America has paid this century to protect them, America should remain closely involved in European affairs, albeit as a mainly offshore power, to convey the will and ability to protect its European interests.

There will be, however, an inherent tension in America's European policy in coming years. On the one hand, with America's military presence inevitably declining, it will be in America's and Europe's interest further to develop European institutions—including the European Community and the West European Union—capable of filling the "pacifying" role now played by the United States. Put bluntly, this role is to assure Germany's neighbors against a revival of German militarism, and concurrently to discourage this militarism by helping Germany itself to feel secure.

On the other hand, a Europe that cooperates too closely in the defense and foreign policy sphere could begin to assert itself in ways that would be detrimental to America's interests. America then will have to follow a two-track policy, accepting the necessity, and advantages, of European integration, yet at the same time seeking avenues to maintain its own influence over European affairs. Toward these ends, the United States should:

1) Not impede European integration, including defense and foreign policy integration. The European Community (EC) agreements signed at Maastricht last December 10 include the incorporation of the West European Union (WEU) as a military arm of the EC and set the objective of a common EC foreign policy. While the United States should not endorse a common EC foreign and defense policy, it should not view the EC and WEU as rivals to NATO. Particularly with the U.S. withdrawal of most of its forces from Europe, it will be the EC and WEU that must anchor Germany in a common security structure, a role up to now played by NATO. A strong EC, moreover, will help Europe take the lead in resolving issues that do not affect U.S. security directly, such as the war between Croatia and Serbia.

2) Seek bilateral defense ties with key European states, including Britain, Germany, and even Russia. Bilateral defense ties such as joint exercises and basing arrangements with powerful European states can increase U.S. security. Advantages of this cooperation include joint military operations, reducing military expenditures by exploiting comparative advantages in production, and maintaining a stabilizing U.S. influence, particularly over Germany and Russia. Britain, and to an extent Germany, will value security ties with America to strengthen their own hands within Europe. Britain's well-deserved "special relationship" with America in security matters will allow London to resist some of the more extreme demands of European unification advocates and to assert its own sovereignty. Germany, particularly if some American nuclear weapons remain on German soil, will be able to strengthen its hand by avoiding dependence on a nuclear-armed France.

3) Remain politically involved in Europe through NATO and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization should remain in place as a sign of America's enduring interest in European affairs. However, with the continuing decline of the Soviet threat, NATO inevitably will

Conservatives should not embrace isolation, but democratic crusading is not an appropriate focus for a conservative foreign policy.

shrivel as a working military organization. The character of the alliance will change. The regular military exercises and day-to-day cooperation that characterized a tight alliance with hundreds of thousands of troops stationed in close proximity on each other's territory will disappear. Each of NATO's armies will be stationed for the most part on its home country's territory. Even those stationed abroad will have dual assignments (for the Europeans this will be the West European Union, destined to become the military arm of the EC). NATO's forces occasionally will engage in joint exercises, much as Americans sometimes train with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) or Australia. NATO's joint military command should, and probably will, remain in place for the time being.

Threat: Eventual rise of another hostile major power in Asia. In Asia, only Japan now has the economic and technological capability to build the nuclear and power projection forces to threaten East Asia. While this is very unlikely absent a major shock of some sort, such as a trade war or global depression, Japan, like Germany, for the first time since World War II will be less dependent on America for its self-defense needs if the former Soviet threat continues to recede.

Much more so than Germany's neighbors in Europe, Japan's neighbors undoubtedly will be nervous about a former enemy again unfettered. Unlike in Europe, there is no emerging "community" to take over the stabilizing role of the United States and no community to absorb and tame Japan as the EC and WEU will do with Germany. If Japan begins to feel insecure in the face, for example, of a nuclear-armed North Korea or a saber-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rattling China, or if Japan decides to rearm, sparking a reaction among its neighbors, U.S. interests could be jeopardized. Commerce could be disrupted in a region that now accounts for more than 50 percent of U.S. trade. More serious would be a regional arms buildup, perhaps leading to nuclear proliferation and conflict.

Over the longer term, China could pose a threat to East Asia, as could India, which already has demonstrated imperial behavior against its neighbors. Today, however, China and India lack the economic or technological capability to mount any but local military campaigns or to build a modern and technologically advanced military.

Given the stabilizing effect of the U.S. military in East Asia—reassuring Japan, obviating the need for powerful Japanese forces, and thus reassuring the former victims of Japanese aggression—America should keep strong naval forces in and near the region. These forces should include the current aircraft carrier battle group based in Yokosuka, Japan, and the four carrier groups based on the U.S. West Coast; this basing structure keeps at least two carrier groups always available for quick deployment. Close U.S. defense ties with Japan are needed to help prevent Japanese rearmament. Thus, the United States should continue to conduct joint exercises and military planning with Japan, and continue to station U.S. military forces there, albeit at reduced levels, as long as Japan is willing to share the costs. The United States also should continue cooperating closely with the six Southeast Asian nations comprising ASEAN, which are important trading partners and potential staging areas for U.S. forces in the region.

Foreign policy is not an end in itself, but a means to secure the greatest possible degree of liberty, freedom, and opportunity for Americans from foreign threats. It has no other purpose.

America's China policy is up for re-evaluation because the most important reason for maintaining special ties to Beijing has been to balance Soviet power in the region. China's arms dealing with Iran and Libya bears close watching. For the most part, though, China is a military threat only in the distant future, if then. America and the rest of the West will be in a race to open China, economically and politically, before it develops the economic capacity to be a major regional superpower.

America's strategy in this regard should be to pry China open, rather than to isolate it. Working with the regime in Beijing if need be—and where possible with China's local and regional leaders—Washington should aim to open China to investment and trade. The 1989 Tiananmen Square uprising was the first indication that Western influence is undermining China's dictatorship. With Communism collapsing around the globe, it will be increasingly difficult for the Beijing regime to stand against the wind blowing from the West.

India, like China, for the time being does not pose a threat except to those in its immediate vicinity. As such, America need not have much of a policy toward India, a country that is as likely to fracture along ethnic and religious lines as it is to expand. Washington mainly should not impede strong U.S.–India trade and investment ties from developing, and should encourage low-tax and high-growth policies in India amenable to expanding trade.

Threat: Eventual rise of a hostile hegemonic power in the Persian Gulf. The Persian Gulf, which contains two-thirds of the world's oil reserves, would give a hostile power enormous economic resources to build a modern military machine and, possibly, a nuclear arsenal. Ideologies such as Islamic fundamentalism and pan-Arab socialism have encouraged Iran and Iraq to sponsor anti-Western terrorism and have led them into violent confrontations with the United States in the past. Both have suffered humiliating military defeats in clashes with the United States—Iran in 1987–1988 when it attacked Kuwaiti oil tankers and Iraq in 1991 when it refused to withdraw from Kuwait.

Both, too, have undertaken large-scale military buildups that include, it is widely assumed, attempts to acquire nuclear weapons. These buildups not only threaten American forces and America's friends in the region, particularly Israel and Saudi Arabia, but eventually could threaten the United States if Iran and Iraq acquire intercontinental ballistic missiles.

To guard against the rise of a hostile hegemonic power in the Persian Gulf, the United States should remain the dominant external military power in the region and the chief guarantor of the security of Saudi Arabia and the other conservative Arab states of the Gulf. The goal should be a stable regional balance of power in which Persian Gulf oil continues to flow. To assure this, the United States should:

1) Maintain forces armed and equipped to project power rapidly from the United States to the Persian Gulf, even without the support of local allies. This requires the deployment of a strong naval force in the region, including at least one aircraft carrier battle group continuously in the Persian Gulf area, along with a quick reaction force of Marines. U.S. F-15 Eagle fighter-bombers should be rotated into Saudi or other air bases continually for joint training exercises. To move Army tank divisions rapidly in a crisis, the United States must continue investing in strategic air-lift and sea-lift capabilities, and must continue positioning military supplies and equipment at depots and at sea near the Persian Gulf. The American military presence on the ground in conservative Arab Gulf states should be minimized to reduce the risk of a destabilizing anti-Western political backlash.

2) Strengthen military cooperation with conservative Arab Gulf states. To increase the ability of Saudi Arabia,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kuwait, and other conservative Arab Gulf states to resist Iranian and Iraqi aggression, Washington should increase the number and scale of joint military exercises with these countries, assist them with military training, stockpile military supplies on their territory if possible, and increase joint military planning. The United States should consider arms sales to these countries if the arms in question do not threaten Israel's security.

3) Contain the Iraqi threat. To reduce Iraq's threat to Persian Gulf stability, the United States should try to oust Saddam Hussein, who likely will seek vengeance against the United States and its allies as long as he survives. Because the Iraqi opposition is weak and divided, the chief threat to Saddam's power is the Iraqi army. The United States should encourage the Iraqi army to overthrow Saddam, by maintaining U.N.-sponsored political and economic sanctions and steadily increasing political, economic, and military support to the Iraqi opposition, especially the Kurds. Regardless of who is in power in Baghdad, the United States should destroy Iraq's ability to build and deploy weapons of mass destruction.

4) Contain the Iranian threat. Given Iraq's weakened condition and isolation, Iran remains a long-term political and military threat to its neighbors and to the stability of the Persian Gulf. The United States should seek to block Western and Japanese economic aid, loans, and technology transfers to Iran until Tehran halts attempts to export terrorism and revolution.

Interest #3: Access to Resources and Freedom of the Seas

Threat: Uncertainty of supply. The decline of the Soviet military threat removes the chief reason for worrying about continued U.S. access to oil, strategic minerals, and other resources vital to U.S. security. Not only is the risk of a Soviet seizure of strategic resource-rich regions, such as Persian Gulf oil fields and South African minerals, greatly reduced, if not eliminated, but the threat that Soviet naval or air forces will interdict the flow of oil or strategic materials such as chromium, cobalt, or manganese has all but ended. Moreover, the likelihood of a lengthy conventional war between the United States and the Soviet Union, the worst-case scenario that motivated the buildup of strategic mineral stockpiles, has declined to almost zero.

No other potential U.S. adversary has the military strength to block long-term U.S. access to vital resources like oil or strategic minerals. Regional crises may trigger short-term supply interruptions and price hikes that could impose costs on the U.S. economy, but such crises would not severely threaten the American economy. In the long run the market would balance supply and demand by raising prices to bring high-cost sources of supplies, substitutes, and new technologies into use.

Manufacturing modern weapons systems requires such strategic metals as chromium, cobalt, manganese, and platinum. America stockpiles these metals in sufficient quantities to supply military production for nearly

AP/Wide World Photos

Yassir Arafat at the United Nations. No nation or multilateral organization should have a veto over American actions.

a four-year conventional war. Now that the Commonwealth of Independent States is anxious to sell these and other commodities for hard currency, worries about the security of supply have diminished considerably.

More serious, perhaps, is the disruption of oil imports, which account for over 40 percent of U.S. oil consumption. Yet the operation of a free market would provide substantial protection in the event of an oil-supply crisis. A drop in oil supplies would trigger higher oil prices, which would increase oil supplies by bringing high-cost oil into production in the United States and elsewhere, while reducing oil demand by encouraging the development of more efficient technologies for using oil and the development of alternative energy sources such as coal, natural gas, and nuclear power.

The United States should rely on the market to safeguard its access to strategic resources over the long term. To meet the threat of short-term supply disruptions the United States should rely on strategic stockpiles. In the case of oil, the United States should continue to expand the Strategic Petroleum Reserve to one billion barrels, as planned. The SPR's maximum withdrawal rate of four million barrels of oil per day also should be expanded to give the United States more flexibility in an oil crisis. The United States also should maintain the emergency oil-sharing arrangements developed by the International Energy Agency, the 21-member organization of Western oil-importing states created in 1974 to facilitate cooperation in oil crises.

Over the long term the United States should open promising areas for oil exploration and development like the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge and undeveloped offshore areas on the continental shelf; eliminate regulations on natural gas to encourage its use as a substitute

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for imported oil; encourage greater imports from Mexico while discouraging imports from the volatile Middle East; and help oil producers such as Russia to expand their oil exports through offers of private U.S. investment, technology, and technical advice.

Although the United States could ride out most oil crises with little economic damage, a major crisis in the Persian Gulf that resulted in the loss of its roughly 15 million barrels per day of oil production, about 25 percent of total world oil production, temporarily would wreak havoc in the world economy. Although this scenario is unlikely, the United States should hedge against the unknown and maintain strong military forces in the Persian Gulf region to help deter another Saddam Hussein-type lunge for oil. The use of military force should be considered only as a last resort. In the long run, America's first line of defense against resource shortages is the free market, not the armed forces.

The world has changed, but the objective of conservatives remains constant: to make the world safe for America.

Threat: Regional threats to freedom of the seas. Hostile regional powers, not the Soviet navy, now pose the chief potential threats to freedom of the seas, which the United States, as a major trading nation, has a vital interest in preserving. Countries that attempt to close the sea lanes, such as Iran, which sought to halt Kuwaiti oil exports by attacking Kuwaiti oil tankers in 1987-1988, must be rebuffed, by force if necessary. The United States also must ensure that such vital strategic passages as the Panama Canal remain open to American sea traffic.

To maintain unchallenged freedom of the seas, the United States must deploy a strong navy capable of defeating regional encroachments on the sea lanes. It particularly is important to project naval air power from carrier battle groups, because some of the potential challengers to freedom of the seas, such as Iran, are located in distant regions where there are no permanent U.S. air bases. The United States also must maintain a strong marine corps that can react quickly to assault and hold strategic chokepoints, such as the Panama Canal or islands in the Strait of Hormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf.

Interest #4: Free Trade

Threat: Protectionism, trade wars, trading blocs. The disruption of free trade is the only non-military threat to America's vital interests around the world. Protectionism and ensuing trade wars can decrease American living standards and even trigger worldwide depression. This in turn can lead to military conflict as trading blocs begin to grab for new markets and access to resources. The two great threats to free trade would be a protectionist European Community and a Japan even more protectionist than it already is.

The protectionist threats from the European Community and Japan are arising at just the time when the United States is losing its main source of leverage over the EC and Japan—their need for American military protection against the Soviet Union. The United States will have to develop other means of leverage against the EC and Japan if it is to force them to keep their markets open. This leverage cannot take the form of what is called "industrial policy" or "planned trade" or other forms of U.S. protectionism. These bureaucratic schemes inevitably fail because they hurt American consumers and producers enormously and thus weaken the American economy.

America's best weapon is free trade itself. America should seek free-trade agreements around the world, including with the entire Western hemisphere, Eastern Europe, and Russia and the emerging states of the CIS. This will help cushion the United States if the EC and Japan turn more protectionist.

More important, U.S. free-trade agreements with many Asian, European, and Latin American countries will give powerful incentive to the EC and Japan to open their own markets. America also should continue to apply consistent negotiating pressure through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and bilaterally to keep down EC and Japanese barriers.

Part of a U.S. strategy to resist and roll back trade protectionism would be to remove U.S. government regulations that make American enterprises less competitive. For example, changes in tax and antitrust laws would help U.S. businesses better compete in Japan and Europe. In key areas, including financial services and auto parts, Japan so far has played by its own rules, continually making promises that it has not kept. In the case of Japan, it is particularly important that the United States confront the free trade issue early, publicly, forcefully, and in a way that precisely lays out ways in which the United States expects Japan to change its trade behavior.

Interest #5: Protecting Americans Against Threats to Their Lives and Well-Being

Threat: Terrorism and drug traffic. Even with the demise of the Soviet Union, virulently anti-American terrorist organizations continue to function in the Middle East and, to a lesser extent, Latin America. In the Middle East, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Sudan, and Syria still sponsor terror groups like Hezbollah, the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Palestine Liberation Front. In Latin America, the Sendero Luminoso and Tupac Amaru operating in Peru continue to attack American installations, including oil-drilling facilities, and to conspire with drug traffickers smuggling cocaine,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and increasingly opium, into the United States.

America should fight terrorism and drug trafficking at the source. In Latin America, American forces should continue to work with friendly governments in Colombia, Mexico, and Peru to train police and military forces in counterterrorism and counter-narcotics operations. American forces should continue to operate along the Mexican border and offshore of Central and South America to interdict drug traffic on its way to the United States. In the Middle East, America should impose economic and political sanctions against state sponsors of terror, denying them access to capital, technology, weapons, and other imports.

America also should attack the training bases of those terrorist groups suspected of actions against Americans, and should conduct special operations missions to capture the leaders of terrorist organizations and bring them to the United States for trial. U.S. intelligence capabilities in the Middle East also should be strengthened by deploying more agents in the region and devoting more electronic intelligence resources to monitoring terrorist groups.

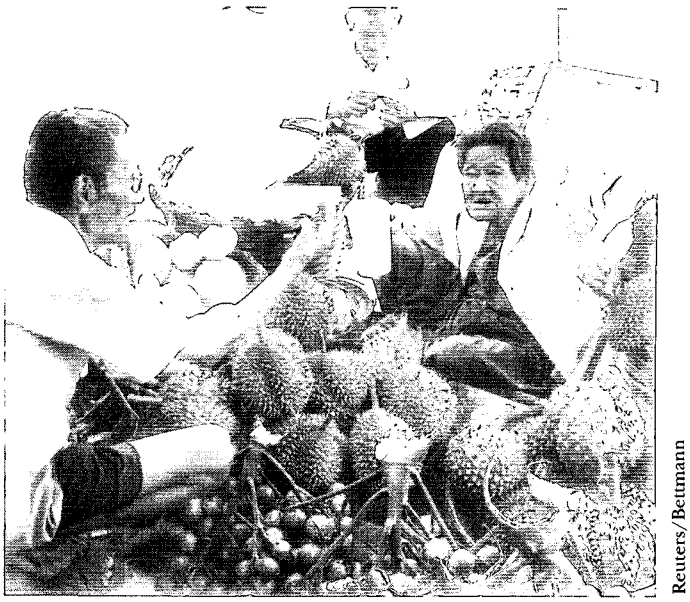
Israel, Taiwan, and Korea

Outside its commitments to NATO and Japan, the cornerstones of America's containment policy, America during the past four decades has accepted other explicit or tacit commitments that inevitably will be reevaluated in light of the Cold War's end. The three most important of these are the defense of Israel, the Republic of China on Taiwan, and the Republic of Korea.

In each instance, the case remains that the commitment serves U.S. interests, although in no case is this argument as strong as it was during the Cold War. Even today, however, a successful aggression by North Korea against South Korea, or mainland China against the Republic of China on Taiwan, would affect U.S. interests in the region. In either case, Japan would feel threatened by the outcome, and could well begin to rearm. This could lead to the instability and arms racing that America most fears in the region.

In Israel's case, the country remains a stable, democratic, and reliable friend, almost surely available if needed as a staging area for U.S. forces in a critical area of the world. Unlike the vulnerable regimes of such allies as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, America can be sure that Israel will remain strongly pro-American. As the region's leading military power, Israel's own capabilities balance Syria and other regional powers that could pose threats to U.S. interests.

Beyond strictly strategic concerns, America must ask itself if it can afford to abandon these friends of past decades, which still face serious threats to their security, knowing that to do so might invite wars against them—wars that they could lose. It is one thing to balk at taking on new obligations, such as Armenia, Poland, Ukraine, or others now seeking American protection. It is another thing to abandon existing friends, knowing that their fate could be uncertain. Maintaining these commitments is the best hope of deterring war, and ultimately of convincing these countries' enemies that their best option is the peaceful settlement of differences.



Reuters/Bettmann

The disruption of free trade is the only non-military threat to America's vital interests around the world.

Thus, America still must supply Israel with weapons and military aid to defend itself. At the same time, America firmly should press Israel to adopt the market reforms needed to strengthen the Israeli economy and reduce Israel's economic reliance on the United States. As America seeks to broker a lasting Middle East peace, it should try to achieve a negotiated settlement that leaves Israel with defensible borders.

In the case of Taiwan, security means that the United States must abide by its obligations under the 1979 Taiwan Relations Act. As such, the United States should sell modern weapons and military technology to Taipei. These have allowed Taiwan to build a strong indigenous defense industry, including production of advanced fighter aircraft, and frigates and other ships.

South Korea's security requires that America's 40,000 troops remain stationed in that country to deter attack from North Korea. It also requires military cooperation, such as the "Team Spirit" annual joint U.S.–South Korean military exercises. The United States should sell South Korea advanced anti-missile defense systems, such as the Theater High Altitude Area Defense System, as they become available later in the decade.

The United States must help convince North Korea to halt its nuclear weapons program. A nuclear-armed Pyongyang would destabilize Northeast Asia and very likely would sell nuclear weapons to Iran, Libya, and other radical regimes. The United States should work with South Korea, China, Japan, and Russia to present North Korea with political and economic disincentives for developing nuclear weapons. If this fails, the U.S., in consultation with South Korea, should consider military measures to block North Korea's nuclear capability.

Human Rights and Public Diplomacy

The United States rarely will find itself in the uncomfortable position, at times necessary during the Cold War, of having to support Asian, African, or Latin American dictators to fight the common Communist enemy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Without the Cold War, human rights issues are likely to become less politicized. In the 1970s "human rights" was used as a club by liberals to attack American support for anti-Communist dictators. In the 1980s, conservatives embraced human rights, and used the issue largely to attack Soviet-supported regimes. Both uses of the human rights issue have been overtaken by history.

America now can address governments around the world on their own merits, dealing cordially with those willing to trade with and open their markets to America, openly criticizing those that offend Americans' sense of decency and human rights, and helping via advice, free-trade agreements, and similar arrangements those that demonstrate a desire to move from statism and dictatorship toward more civilized economic and political policies.

A general foreign policy tactic worth continuing is public diplomacy, an important and cost-effective means of spreading American ideas and building foreign support for American policies. Public diplomacy can accelerate political and economic reforms by communicating democratic ideas and information about market economies. By supporting international information and educational exchange programs, the United States can help plant the seeds of democracy and market economics throughout the world.

Public diplomacy also is an effective tool for explaining and building foreign support for specific U.S. policies and foreign policy goals, such as strategic defense or Operation Desert Storm. In an increasingly democratic era, if foreign publics do not support U.S. foreign policy initiatives, then their governments are unlikely to do so. Public diplomacy is an important means of reaching beyond the hierarchy of foreign governments to real people.

Defense Priorities

An assessment of America's interests and the threats to these interests leads to some initial conclusions about the defense policy needed to defend these interests.

Strategic defense. Ballistic missiles armed with nuclear weapons remain the number-one threat to America's survival. While the quantity of missiles in the former Soviet arsenal almost surely will shrink, control over these weapons may fragment. As worrisome, missile and nuclear weapon technology is apt to spread in the Third World. Strategic defense therefore must remain a top priority of America's defense policy, with early deployment of a limited ground- and space-based system at the top of conservatives' defense agenda.

Nuclear weapons. Assuming large-scale cuts in the former Soviet arsenal, the United States will not need new strategic and tactical nuclear offensive forces in the 1990s. For deterrent purposes, of course, existing U.S. forces will have to be survivable and capable of retaliating at any level to strikes on American territory. If Russia and the other Commonwealth states slash budgets for nuclear weapons and air defenses as is likely, deterrence can be achieved by the United States with a force far smaller and less diverse than today's. Reductions first to the 7,400-warhead level proposed by Bush, and then beyond, perhaps to as low as 2,000 warheads, should be possible as long as a friendly Russian government remains in power and reciprocates. In this case, the reasons for modernizing and even keeping the nuclear triad begin to fade. Should a neo-Soviet regime arise, however, this would require the revival of nuclear modernization programs and higher numbers of warheads to ensure a survivable force.

Conventional forces. The focus of American conventional forces will shift from preparation for fighting against Soviet forces simultaneously in Europe and elsewhere to meeting regional threats. The ability to fight another Desert Storm, while covering bases elsewhere in the world, will be the new benchmark for America's active forces. Reserve forces will have to be maintained in sufficient strength to mobilize in the event of a resurgent Soviet threat.

Responding to major regional aggression, or conducting strikes against terrorists or proliferators, will require a mobile, technologically advanced and well-trained force. This means a strong and modern navy and marine corps, including modern naval strike airpower and carriers. It means air-lift and sea-lift forces capable of quickly transporting soldiers and equipment, including heavy armor forces, to potential trouble spots around the world. It means better trained and equipped Special Operations Forces. It means continuing to develop such key weapons as the F-22 fighter, which will guarantee American air superiority well into the next century.

With the Soviet global threat now gone, the United States needs a much smaller armed force, with army divisions and air force air wings cut by at least one-third. Few U.S. troops need be overseas, particularly in Europe. And some technologically remarkable but also very expensive weapons, designed solely to counter the Soviet threat, like the advanced *Seawolf* attack submarine and the B-2 bomber, probably should be canceled.

Intelligence. In Iraq, Lebanon, and elsewhere, U.S. intelligence has failed in ways that have put at risk the lives of American soldiers and citizens abroad. With nuclear and missile proliferation, terrorism, even economic blackmail becoming increasing problems, intelligence capabilities will have to be strengthened in many areas of the globe as fewer resources are devoted to spying on the former Soviet Union. The United States needs to improve its intelligence concerning such potential trouble spots as Central Asia and the Middle East by recruiting and training additional intelligence personnel to specialize in these regions, recruiting additional local agents, and increasing the quantity and quality of technical resources, such as surveillance satellites and electronic intelligence assets deployed in these regions.

Selective Engagement

America should remain selectively engaged in regions and involved in international issues where it is clear that vital strategic, economic, and political interests are at stake. Before any U.S. action is taken, it should be determined first whether American interests are at stake. Are the lives and well-being of American citizens in danger? Are American frontiers, territory, or air space threatened? Is a hostile power or bloc of powers threatening to dominate Europe, Asia, or the Persian Gulf in any

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

way? Is U.S. access to natural resources or seaways in jeopardy? Are the diplomatic, political, and economic means employed to advance Western values consistent with vital U.S. interests?

If the answer to any of these questions is yes, then U.S. action is required. What kind of action America should take should be determined by applying the 10 principles outlined in this memo. What, for example, should be America's response if civil war breaks out in South Africa? No vital strategic or geographical interests are involved in Africa now that the Soviet Union has collapsed. No government likely to come to power in South Africa could afford to turn its back on America and the West, particularly as there no longer is a Communist bloc to which to turn. While the United States certainly would welcome the development of democracy, peace, and free markets in South Africa, no vital U.S. interest would be jeopardized if democracy were to fail to take root. Military action therefore would not be an appropriate response.

Yet a democratic and free-market South Africa could be an example and engine for the rest of Africa, ultimately raising the living standards and political culture of the entire continent; this clearly is in America's long-term interest. Toward this end America could offer technical advice and expertise, as well as take measures to foster free trade and investment in the new South Africa. A comparable assessment of American interests and conservative values could be applied to virtually any foreign policy issue around the world.

For example, what should U.S. policy be toward the breakup of Yugoslavia? During the Cold War America cared deeply that Yugoslavia should not come under the Soviet orbit. Now that the Cold War is over, American policy toward Yugoslavia should change. America has no vital, direct security interest in maintaining the integrity of the Yugoslavian state. By the same token, so long as the violence there is contained within the borders of Yugoslavia, and hence does not threaten the wider stability of Europe, neither has America a vital security interest in stopping the civil war.

Since, however, America has an interest in seeing the spread of democratic states and market economies in Eastern Europe, Washington should recognize the independence of those Yugoslav republics that are democratic and dedicated to building market economies. Beyond that, America should let the Europeans or the United Nations take the lead in settling the civil war in Yugoslavia.

The Benefits of Liberty

Conservatives can craft a foreign policy consistent with America's interests, a policy that heeds the lessons of history and reflects the character of a free people. The history of this century argues firmly against a turn inward, away from the world; conservatives should not embrace isolation. At the same time, the history of the American nation and the precepts of the Founding Fathers caution against excess zeal; democratic crusading is not an appropriate focus for a conservative foreign policy.

America's most successful period since World War II began with the inauguration of Ronald Reagan in 1981.

AP/Wide World Photos

Beirut, 1983. America should attack the training bases of terrorist groups suspected of actions against Americans, and conduct special operations missions to capture the leaders.

Its hallmark was a nation unashamed of its values and precepts and willing to act on behalf of its interests. These are not Cold-War principles; they are American principles. If America heeds them in coming years, Americans will be safe to enjoy the benefits of their individual liberty, the ultimate objective of all foreign and defense policy.

Lee Edwards

The Heritage Foundation is to be commended for its forthright rejection of the new isolationism, which argues that the best way for America to put its house in order is to close all the windows and hang a sign on the front door reading "No admittance." However, I must confess some disappointment at its policy of "selective engagement," which sounds more than a little like the title of a Jimmy Carter speech. I agree that we should guard against excessive zeal in U.S. foreign policy; given our $4-trillion national debt, we have no other choice. I suggest that we can determine if a policy serves the just interests of America if it contains a commonsense mixture of idealism and pragmatism.

We enacted the Marshall Plan in 1948 because we wanted to help our wartime allies, who were threatening to slide into economic chaos and perhaps Communism, and to create markets for American goods and services. Although today's isolationists rarely mention it, Senator Robert A. Taft voted for final passage of the Marshall Plan. We supported freedom fighters in Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Angola, and Cambodia throughout the 1980s

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AP/Wide World Photos

The Berlin Wall, 1989. "There is no explanation for such words as German (or Japanese) 'revanchism' and 'militarism' now lodged in the Heritage blueprint."

to put Moscow and its surrogates on the defensive and to help the people of those countries regain their freedom. We went to war against Iraq last year because we were determined to defend the principle that one nation cannot be allowed to seize another with impunity and to preserve our access to Middle East oil.

With these criteria in mind and remembering the inspiring words of President Reagan to the British Parliament in 1982 that "freedom is not the sole prerogative of a lucky few, but the inalienable and universal right of all human beings," I offer two specific proposals.

First, a commonsense foreign policy requires America to maintain a more significant military presence in Europe and Asia than Heritage proposes. It is not in America's national interest to allow Germany (which supplied Saddam Hussein with a good deal of his military capability) to dominate European security, including the Commonwealth of Independent States, with its thousands of nuclear weapons. It is not in America's national interest to encourage Japan to rearm, adding a strategic dimension to its economic hegemony in Asia. Korea, Thailand, Singapore, Taiwan, and the other nations of Asia desperately want U.S. forces to remain in the region to counterbalance Japan and Communist China.

Second, in contrast to Heritage's blueprint a commonsense foreign policy requires that America take decisive steps against the continued import of Chinese goods made by forced labor and the gross violation of human rights on the mainland. Such a policy serves pragmatism and idealism, the two pillars of every successful American foreign policy for the past 50 years.

America remains the only nation that has the military, economic, and moral strength to take the lead in resolving mortal crises, sometimes by force, as in the Persian Gulf war, sometimes by diplomacy, as in the attempted Moscow putsch. Our God-given destiny to preserve and extend freedom everywhere was defined by President Reagan and Barry Goldwater, who declared in his 1964 presidential campaign that the guiding principle of the world should be "freedom...our century's most inspiring cry." Even if the Cold War were over, which it is not as long as the 1.1 billion people of China live, not by their choice, under the cruel yoke of Communism, the work of building a free world would continue.

LEE EDWARDS, *president of the Center for International Relations, is writing a biography of Barry Goldwater.*

CHARLES H. FAIRBANKS JR.

The Heritage Foundation is absolutely right about the most important thing: that when a great struggle like the Cold War is over, what a people needs and deserves is a sense of clarity: an accounting of what is finished, what remains for us to do, and what new tasks are before us. It is the absence of this sense of definition that, in large measure, accounts for the malaise and restlessness that is now being drawn on by Perot, Le Pen, and the Lombard League. The function of leadership is to articulate and satisfy such feelings. Instead we have State Department officials whining that our friends' triumphant entry into Kabul might lead to "bloodshed," but that there is "no percentage" in trying to stop the mass killings in Yugoslavia—a status-quo policy in a world transformed beyond imagination, a policy as internationalist and multilateral as Roosevelt's but without a moral definition.

Heritage's report, in contrast, assumes that in a world so changed, both foreign policy and the domestic bases of foreign policy must be different. It reasonably assumes that after the Cold War America's foreign policy must base itself more on American pride or nationalism. The distinctive characteristic of the Heritage approach is the combination of this appeal with the firm rejection of isolationism. To see that these two things do not contradict each other is sophisticated, as is the treatment of multilateralism and European integration. I still think, however, that the Heritage position leans over too far in conciliating Buchanan-style isolationism. The dichotomy of "vital American interests" and "humanitarian concerns" is a false dichotomy. At this moment, international agreement on certain principles of decency is at a historic peak. They happen to be the principles for which America has fought since 1776. Thus it is not mere sentimentality to acknowledge and press these principles; it is a vital national interest. As the Heritage report itself admits, "America's democratic traditions have proved a powerful agent for the advancement of America's interests in the world." We did not become the only serious superpower by pursuing a policy of open cynicism and self-aggrandizement. Moreover, free principles give fallible politicians more clarity in penetrating

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the tangled jungle of world politics. As the Heritage memorandum rightly says, "Ronald Reagan's great strength was his clarity of purpose. He was not afraid to voice his belief in the values that make America great." In contrast, the foreign policy leaders who tried so hard to be "realistic" during the Nixon, Ford, and Carter administrations only succeeded in reaching fundamentally mistaken conclusions about the weakness of the West and the enduring strength of the Soviet Union.

Concretely, it is not so easy to arrive at a checklist to determine whether American interests are at stake in a given place when economic downturns, ideas such as "postmodernity" and "multiculturalism," viruses, drugs, refugees, and foreign workers shoot across national frontiers in a powerful stream. The fact that the word "refugee" never occurs in Heritage's report points to the problem. But the problem is more one of tone than of content; the Heritage position is very forthright in advocating the spread of free markets and democracy abroad.

Heritage's advice on particular regions and policy areas is usually very sound. The report is right to accept, against many conservative voices, the fact that there has been a fundamental change in the Soviet system and that the *old* Soviet threat—the threat of massive power centrally directed in pursuit of Communist interests—has vanished. And it is right to be open to the possibility of far-reaching modes of cooperation with a democratic Russia. We have a profound stake in the survival of democracy in Russia, and our prestige there is so high that our support would make a difference.

I am not sure, however, that Heritage emphasizes enough the *dangers* from the ex-Communist empire. In the short run, these are the dangers of chaos, of vast military power (including nuclear weapons) uncontrolled by any government. The danger of the sale or use of nuclear weapons or of a spill-over of ethnic conflict outside the old Soviet borders are not negligible. Romanian and Turkish involvement in the Moldova and Nagorno-Karabakh conflicts is closer than ever before. Ultimately, if the democratic free-market experiments in progress on former Soviet soil fail, we could see a vast, nuclear-armed Lebanon stretching from the Baltic to the Bering Straits, the source of refugees and plagues, a sanctuary for terrorists and opium-growers, nourishing the islands of disorder and decay that exist in every Western city. These are precisely the kinds of problems on which it is difficult to decide whether our "vital interests" are involved; therefore, it is hard to develop a public consensus about them and hard to cope with them by the means we presently have. At worst, a society embittered by the failure of democracy and the market could surrender authority to an aggressive dictatorship or to some kind of fascist system that would once more organize Russian military power and resources against the outside world. This is not a "short-term" danger—it won't happen next year but it might happen in 10 years. If it doesn't happen in the former Soviet Union, it may happen in China, which is also facing the breakdown of Marxism-Leninism. In this context, I was puzzled to read that "China and India lack the economic and technological capability to mount any but local military challenges." When Chinese nuclear weapons (even less secure than Soviet ones) can reach Japan, the former Soviet republics, and the United States, the threat is not "local." The Heritage report, like our whole public debate, is becoming somewhat relaxed about nuclear threats just when the political and technological preconditions of deterrence (centralized control of nuclear forces by prudent leaders, survivable retaliatory forces, predictable constraints on proliferation, and adequate command, control, and communications) are being swiftly undermined.

These differences of emphasis do not undercut, but rather reinforce, the main thrust of the Heritage argument: the need for American power and commitment. Conservatives ought to be pleased that this act of leadership came from us.

CHARLES H. FAIRBANKS JR. *is research professor of international relations at the Nitze School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University.*

FRED CHARLES IKLÉ

This blueprint merits praise for being sensible, sober, and sound. Its 10 conservative principles splendidly capture much of the thought that ought to guide our foreign policy.

Understandably, the authors pay some attention to those afflicted by the fantasy of a United States safely disengaged from foreign affairs. Yet, they are perhaps too patient with this affliction, playing the role of the kindly psychiatrist who indulgently listens to his patients' fantasies, even if wholly contrary to fact. Thus they note that in America today (in contrast to the 1920s) "most conservatives recognize that our lives and liberty can be threatened by events abroad." Isn't this like saying that most grown-ups recognize that 2 plus 2 add up to 4?

This excellent blueprint is too indulgent toward those who believe America's security concerns end 12 miles east of Martha's Vineyard and west of Hawaii. Why should The Heritage Foundation be caught in broad daylight downplaying America's "calling to leadership," a calling that America has so clearly embraced for half a century? Why should the U.S. government promote Western values around the world "only if it...has the explicit support of the American people"? Is there no role to lead for that most senior official in our government? As Richard Nixon recently reminded us, to halt Stalin's 1947 expansion into Greece and Turkey, Harry Truman—with his popularity down at 35 percent—overcame strong opposition in Congress and the public.

No need to circle our wagons today; America has not lost the Cold War. After the isolationist years of the 1920s and 1930s, the American people, through half a century of blood, sweat, and tears, have now reached their finest hour: the worldwide triumph of American ideals, a triumph largely won peacefully.

"A great empire and little minds go ill together," wrote Edmund Burke. It takes indeed little minds to walk away from the great empire that now stretches out before us—a spiritual empire entirely, not an old-fashioned empire of military conquest. No, this is the time to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

expand our vision toward the vast horizons of the new realm of freedom that our unstinting labors and history's good fortune have opened up.

Except for little minds with a stunted grasp of things, domestic policy issues and foreign policy issues are not mutually exclusive alternatives for serious attention. The idea of drawing a line between the two is obsolete in this age of global migration, global markets for goods and finance as well as for ideas, and an ever-denser network of worldwide communications and travel.

The line between domestic and foreign has become highly porous—both figuratively and in physical reality. With insouciant optimism, the Heritage blueprint lists first among Heritage's vital geographic interests the protection of the nation's frontiers. Would that it could be done! The United States today cannot control illegal immigration, it cannot detect hundreds of small airplanes that fly in and out of the United States routinely, and it has kept outer space as an open freeway (not to be blamed on Ronald Reagan) for enemy missiles.

If we conservatives still had the courage to ask politically incorrect questions, one might see some interesting research on the possible connections between foreign immigration and the sad situation in America's inner cities. However, with few exceptions (such as Senator Alan Simpson) American conservatives talk as if free trade, free markets, and free international migration were the three dimensions of individual liberty. The Heritage blueprint, despite its superbly comprehensive scope, does not mention the touchy subject of global migration and its underlying demographic forces. Yet, as we have seen in France, if thoughtful conservatives do not address this subject responsibly, then a Le Pen will gain wide support by doing so irresponsibly.

American conservatism is rooted in a political culture, as American writers and thinkers of conservative persuasion have always recognized. However, this recognition usually stops at the water's edge. To go beyond, many imply, would be an extravagant "crusade." Even this fine Heritage blueprint betrays a somewhat timid view on this point. For example, it relegates U.S. public diplomacy to the selling of specific policies "such as strategic defense or Operation Desert Storm." There are more things in American political philosophy than are dreamt of in SDI and Desert Storm.

Last, a piece of advice for Heritage's janitor: change the locks at 214 Massachusetts Avenue so that Slobodan Milosevic's agents can't slip in again at night and plant mischief into Kim Holmes's word processor. There is no explanation for such words as German (or Japanese) "revanchism" and "militarism" now lodged in the Heritage blueprint. Today, "German revanchism" (one of Stalin's favorite epithets to conceal his own expansionism) is given credence only by Radio Belgrade.

FRED CHARLES IKLÉ *is a distinguished scholar at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.*

PENN KEMBLE

The new Heritage foreign policy gropes for footholds in down-to-earth American interests, and disentangles from what is now seen as the dangerously high-flown moral and intellectual support system of the Reagan era. This is more than a response to objective circumstances—the collapse of Soviet Communism. Something subjective is going on: Heritage is changing its conceptions of international affairs and America as a world leader. No wonder the blueprint was gleefully embraced by the *New York Times*'s Leslie Gelb, pundit preeminent of the malaise school in American foreign policy.

During the Reagan–Thatcher era, conservatives took leadership among those who see world affairs as a form of politics, in which ideas and moral values are primary, and economic and military power derive from and complement a grasp of what is true and good. This approach, not necessarily conservative, presumes the world's peoples to be generally sympathetic toward the spirit that prevails in free societies. It argues that when democratic ideas and values are promoted effectively, governments will tend to respect their peoples and their neighbors, and that, from the high ground of democracy, it will be easier to oppose those who do not.

In this perspective, the United States cannot simply be a passive example of democracy—the City on a Hill. We must continually demonstrate to enemies and friends alike that we are active contenders for leadership. We should know by now from painful and practical experience that when we slacken on offense, we soon will strain to hold the line on defense. Moreover, we are the world's first and strongest democracy; even when we shrink from leadership, we find it thrust upon us. We have no choice but to be an advocate and an organizer, or to see our values mocked and our interests challenged.

This Heritage blueprint turns away from moral and intellectual leadership, toward a more mechanical and calculating approach to world affairs. The combat of ideas and values is identified with "missionary crusading"—a phrase redolent of rhetoric once popular on the Left. Conservatives are encouraged to "de-politicize human rights," which, given the impossibility of such a thing, can only mean de-emphasizing human rights. The spheres and balances of 19th-century geopolitics are carted down from the attic, and sealanes and strategic choke-points are plotted on the maps—as if to wish away the challenges of modern air and space power, the information economy, and the internationalization of politics.

The blueprint's authors could not have picked a better—or worse—example to demonstrate how neorealists differ from sappy "democratizers" than their favorite: Yugoslavia. In their view, Yugoslavia is so inconsequential that the United States should not take the lead in resolving the crisis. Yet within just weeks of the pronouncement, Serbia's national Communists have so inflamed hostilities along the Eurasian fault line that only U.S. leadership can now prevent the region from being engulfed in ethnic and religious wildfires.

Other points:

• In its 1988 *Mandate for Leadership*, Heritage called for increased support to the National Endowment for Democracy, calling it "one of the [Reagan] administration's greatest institutional legacies." Now there is no mention of NED.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

◦ Foreign assistance—other than disaster relief—is only for "encouraging private enterprise and investment." Here Heritage has allowed its battle with big government at home to blind it to the role government must play in shaping and administering the social contract that enables private property and free markets to exist. Without competent democratic government—which NED and similar programs are helping to establish in many countries—the potential free-enterprise boom will never happen.

◦ The blueprint's approach to China tarts up gross commercialism as grand strategy.

◦ For all the talk of "public diplomacy," there is no mention of Radio Free Asia.

◦ The commitment to Israel never rises above the low road of regional security.

No one can dispute that the United States must practice what the blueprint calls "selective engagement." But when these Heritage realists try to be selective, they actually hopscotch all over—Europe, Taiwan, the Persian Gulf, South Korea, Panama. But they do not find moral or conceptual coherence. Those of us who urge a foreign policy based on strengthening democracy should be challenged to acknowledge that our approach has its limits. But this value-free can of worms is no strategy—nor will it win public support.

PENN KEMBLE *is senior associate of Freedom House.*

KEITH B. PAYNE

Making the World Safe for America identifies general guiding principles for foreign and defense policies. Given current political parlance these principles are appropriately identified as "conservative." Much of the discussion concerning the benefits of free trade draws on the venerable themes of classical liberalism popularized by Richard Cobden in the early 1800s. Similarly, the focus on national sovereignty and power, with the concomitant disdain for visions of a more benign new world order built on international law or consensus, reflects the historic theme of the "realist" school of international relations.

The Heritage blueprint makes the useful reminder that foreign policy should be an instrument in service of national ends—not someone's estimate of the "global good." This principle may seem unexceptional, but it stands in contrast to much of the contemporary "politically correct" foreign-policy agenda that would make the U.S. taxpayer responsible for improving the living standard of the rest of the world.

Also on target in the aftermath of the Gulf War is the warning against ceding to the United Nations much influence over U.S. policy. This principle reflects the realist's response to the idealist's vision of a global organization ensuring global cooperation. Each country ultimately can rely only on itself for protection, and significant influence over important security decisions should not be accorded to an organization that ultimately cannot provide security.

The report also properly underscores the threat posed by the proliferation of missiles and weapons of mass destruction, and the resultant requirement for ballistic missile defense. Unless countered, proliferation will give many other countries the potential to deter U.S. power projection. Because the ultimate sanction of force is the backdrop for much of the maneuvering in international relations, constraining U.S. power-projection options ultimately will weaken U.S. leverage in foreign policy.

This linkage of proliferation and missile defense to U.S. freedom of action and foreign-policy goals will require more attention in the future. Fortunately, a consensus is beginning to emerge internationally in support of missile defenses: leaders as diverse as Russian President Boris Yeltsin, NATO General Secretary Manfred Wörner, Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt, and President George Bush now have endorsed ballistic missile defenses.

Making the World Safe for America properly endorses the strengthening of U.S. intelligence. A point that deserves to be added, however, is the increased need for intelligence to be supported by behavioral sciences. Our apparent surprise over Saddam Hussein's actions may reflect an abundance of surveillance and electronic data but a shallowness in our understanding of the political, psychological, and cultural factors that often drive decision-making. As we become more engaged in regional security issues a similar lack of understanding of foreign leaderships will be increasingly dangerous. It will impede our ability to employ carrots or sticks in support of our foreign policy because we will be unlikely to appreciate when to apply carrot or stick, what they should be, or how to communicate them effectively. As unglamorous as it may seem, competent area studies integrating the "soft sciences" probably will be increasingly important to useful intelligence.

Finally, as the United States moves ahead with its military retrenchment from abroad and the elimination of tactical nuclear systems, the overall nuclear-deterrence mission will increasingly be borne by long-range strategic systems. Stealthy long-range bombers possess the necessary flexibility, signaling, and discrimination; they are the strategic systems most compatible with the potential for reconstitution in the event a "neo-Soviet" regime emerges. Consequently, the recommendation in *Making the World Safe for America* to cancel the B-2 deserves to be reconsidered.

KEITH B. PAYNE *is president of the National Institute for Public Policy.*

ROBERT L. PFALTZGRAFF JR.

As the Heritage blueprint points out, the United States is more vulnerable—militarily, politically, and economically—than ever before. Weapons of mass destruction, with delivery systems of greater lethality, accuracy, and range, are proliferating into the hands of potentially unstable actors. The nuclear threats we faced in the Cold War were more easily deterrable than those emerging. Other threats not readily deterred include drugs, terrorism, and regional conflict such as we have experienced in the Middle East. We confront a world of virulent nationalism, ethnic/sectarian conflict,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reuters/Bettmann

"The blueprint could not have picked a better example than Yugoslavia to demonstrate how neo-realists differ from sappy 'democratizers.' " —Penn Kemble

and remaining Third-World Marxist regimes.

U.S. economic strength is more dependent on major political forces shaping the global economy. Separated from the outside world, our economy would shrink and wither, for export markets and imports are vital to our well-being. A world economy beset by political disruptions or economic slowdown means the loss of American jobs. The growth of the power of drug cartels abroad enhances their capacity to flood the United States with illicit products leading to incalculable social corrosion.

It is therefore dangerous and fallacious to assume that the economic issues at home can be resolved largely on their own terms and that the political, economic, and military dimensions of security can be addressed separately. Past eras of greatest global expansion have coincided with stable political order backed by adequate military capabilities. Historically, great economic powers also developed the means to protect commercial interests. The great post-World War II global economic recovery and expansion occurred under the security umbrella provided by the United States. The overarching question for the present decade and beyond is, if not the United States, who, or what combination of forces, will substitute for *Pax Americana*? Is there any realistic alternative to an active U.S. global engagement if we are to avert national decline and provide for our security in the broadest sense?

Therefore, the U.S. forward presence required in support of vital interests is likely to be somewhat greater than that suggested in *Making the World Safe for America.* For example, a U.S. force presence of 25,000 to 50,000 in Europe may be too low even to provide adequate U.S. political leverage, let alone to serve as a militarily effective capability for contingencies in Europe or, more likely, elsewhere, as in Desert Storm. The U.S. Seventh Corps, deployed from NATO Europe, played an indispensable role in the liberation of Kuwait. Joint training for coalition operations, best accomplished by forward-deployed forces in Alliance context, will remain vitally important.

I agree with the Heritage blueprint on many of the principal security challenges before us. We must cope with the implications of disintegration of the Soviet empire, a task that will have lasting implications in a situation that will continue to unfold for years to come. We must cope with the consequences of the proliferation of missile and other technologies on a global basis, and move rapidly toward deployment of missile defenses. We must assure continuing access to vitally important energy and other resources, while reducing our dependence on such imports from regions of instability and volatility.

The great wars of this century into which the United States has been drawn have featured totalitarian or authoritarian regimes that have posed a clear and present danger to our vital interests and those of our most important allies. For this reason, and in keeping with our own basic values as a nation, as *Making the World Safe for America* suggests, our interests lie in the strengthening of market economies wherever possible, together with the spread of democracy, as well as a world order based on free trade. In short, the United States must forge a foreign policy consensus compatible with geostrategic interests and historic American values.

ROBERT L. PFALTZGRAFF JR. *is president of the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis.*

PETER R. ROSENBLATT

Can political terms such as "liberal" and "conservative," designed to define attitudes toward the domestic functions of government, be said to have any relevance to foreign policy? Does a foreign policy that represents "a proper understanding of the limited role of government" have any meaning? If so, how does one define those limitations?

I am not so sure about the answers to these questions, but it is not clear that The Heritage Foundation staff is either. The practical difficulties are formidable. The Heritage blueprint rejects the pre-World War II conservative ideology of isolationism and endorses conservatives' enthusiastic leadership of America's maximum worldwide resistance to Soviet military power and Communism during the Cold War's second half. It entirely omits reference to conservatives' support for Roosevelt's wartime demand for unconditional surrender and the postwar cooperation with liberals in the bipartisan conduct of the Cold War's formative first half. What is there about the blueprint that is either ideologically consistent with any of these past conservative stances or uniquely conservative?

It certainly isn't any easier to discern ideological consistency among American liberals. "Wilsonian moralism"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

led directly to a kind of consensus American "moralistic crusade," first against the Axis and then against the Communists. It broke down only in the late 1960s when a new liberal isolationism split the Democratic Party and completed a liberal–conservative role reversal within a single generation.

There is very little evidence today of an ideologically based foreign policy at either end of the political spectrum. Perhaps that is one of the factors that inspired the Heritage project. But why is it necessary or desirable—and is it possible—to reconstruct an ideological divide over what is largely a pragmatic strategic issue?

The Heritage staff's blueprint itself navigates quite successfully among the shoals of isolationism, "one-worldism," hyper-interventionalism, and protectionism to lay out a largely sensible, moderate, and commendable charter for future American foreign-affairs tacticians. But with its rejection of all these "isms," Heritage's effort to define conservatism's foreign policy winds up oddly lacking in philosophical content or strategic vision. It has never yet been possible to form a strategy out of a collection of tactical principles.

Just as important, a foreign policy designed "to secure the greatest possible degree of liberty, freedom, and opportunity for Americans from foreign threats" states a necessary minimum, but it is a sufficient philosophical basis neither for the sole surviving superpower nor for what may be the only nation in the world founded on a set of ideas. It was not American power or even that of the Western alliance alone that won the Cold War. The ideas upon which America was founded share the credit.

The lukewarm declaration that "while the U.S. has no obligation to spread free markets or democracy abroad, their spread generally is in America's interest" could hardly have rallied Americans to win World War II or to endure uncomplainingly the 45-year twilight struggle from which we have just emerged victorious. It will certainly not suffice as a basis upon which we can hope to lead the world into a second American century; one in which the American ideas that triumphed in the first find their natural expression.

If there is anything to be learned from our victories in those conflicts it is that we owe them as much to our ideas as to our armies that carried them to our enemies and their subjects. Our ideas are now so widely accepted as the world norm that, as Heritage's blueprint shows, we ourselves face the danger of losing sight of their fundamental importance to our international standing and security. The irony of this development cannot be lost upon those who stood at the forefront of the ideological struggle until last year and now seek a new *raison d'être.*

PETER R. ROSENBLATT *is president of Coalition for a Democratic Majority in Washington, D.C.*

The Authors Respond:

We are encouraged that our foreign policy blueprint has generated debate as intended, and will not respond in detail to the thoughtful and mostly constructive commentaries offered. One point, however, deserves clarification. Penn Kemble and others to a lesser extent interpret the blueprint as a "value-free" statement of *realpolitik.* It is not. As we wrote, conservatives take seriously the precept that individuals are endowed by their Creator with inalienable, and hence universal, rights. The government of the United States was constituted for the purpose of protecting these rights for its own citizens, whether threatened by events at home or abroad. Defending America's vital interests in the world thus is a high moral calling. American foreign policy needs no further justification. Where America's vital interests are at risk, the government has an obligation to act decisively on the nation's behalf. This is why the blueprint goes to great lengths carefully to define these interests and the threats posed to them in the post-Soviet world. America's obligations, however, end at the limits of its interests. In practice of course, as a fair and compassionate people, Americans sometimes may wish their government to do more, simply in the name of the good—to provide humanitarian assistance, to participate in economic and diplomatic sanctions, to provide refuge for those seeking shelter from tyranny, or in rare cases perhaps even to use military force.

Our warning simply is this: where American interests are not directly involved, a caution flag should go up, particularly where military action is concerned. A policy that consistently ignores this principle quickly will thrust America into the role of judge and policeman to the world. Such policy could not and should not long be supported by the American people, given that the cost of failure—and even success—often will be measured in American lives.

One other note: there was no intent in our blueprint to "bash" Germany by mentioning the enduring fears of its neighbors of revived militarism and expansionism. These fears are real and, as in the case of Japan, policies must be developed to allay them. From our perspective, of course, there is every reason to believe that the great democratic experiments in Germany and Japan will prove successful over the long term. These two countries, which have earned America's respect and admiration, should remain valued allies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The $25-Billion Question

How Five Senators Would Cut Domestic Spending

A Symposium

Congress and the administration are now embroiled in a great debate about whether to enact a constitutional amendment mandating a balanced budget. Yet rarely have politicians been so reluctant as in 1992 to put forward proposals to reduce government spending.

In the hopes of stimulating debate on this subject Policy Review *in April 1992 asked 20 senators (10 Democrats, 10 Republicans, none of them up for re-election this year) to explain how they would cut $25 billion annually from federal domestic spending. Responses were received from one Democrat, Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut, and from four Republicans, Hank Brown of Colorado, Pete V. Domenici of New Mexico (ranking Republican on the Senate Budget Committee), Orrin G. Hatch of Utah, and William V. Roth Jr. of Delaware.*

Hank Brown

There are thousands of unnecessary and wasteful federal programs that can and should be terminated. The president, in his FY1993 budget, proposed terminating over 4,000 domestic discretionary programs and projects. My proposals would save $165 billion over the next five years.

• **Reducing Congress.** Controlling waste should start with Congress. The staff of Congress now totals more than 38,000—nine times the staff of any other deliberative body in the world. I propose a 50-percent budget cut, which would save $6 billion over the next five years.

• **Limiting agricultural subsidies.** Some of our farm programs end up hurting producers rather than helping them. Ironically, farmers who produce products not covered by farm programs enjoy a better return on investment than those under the programs. By eliminating the dairy, cotton, rice, and honey subsidy programs, taxpayers would save almost $9 billion over five years and American consumers would be better off as well. Eliminating the tobacco loan program would return almost $1 billion to the U.S. Treasury. It also makes no sense to subsidize tobacco with one program while we discourage smoking with others.

• **Limiting increases in mandatory programs.** Mandatory spending, other than Social Security and interest on the debt, is projected to grow to almost $600 billion per year by FY1997. Such programs as food stamps, Medicare, and unemployment compensation now account for approximately 50 percent of the federal budget, and are growing at many times the rate of inflation. Limiting increases on all mandatory spending programs (except Social Security and interest on the debt) to increases in beneficiary growth, inflation, and an additional 2 percent (phased to 0 percent) would save $92 billion over five years.

• **Eliminating federal payments to the wealthy.** The federal government should eliminate subsidies to individuals with adjusted gross income over $120,000 and to corporations with gross receipts of over $5 million. This would save approximately $53 billion over five years. Exempted from this provision would be programs where benefits have been earned such as Social Security, veterans benefits, and military and civil retirement payments. Most of the savings would come from reductions in farm price supports and other discretionary domestic programs.

• **Withdrawing memberships.** The United States now pays dues to a variety of anti-consumer international organizations such as the coffee cartel, and jute, rubber, and tropical timber organizations. The federal government would save nearly $16 million over five years by withdrawing from international organizations that act directly or indirectly against U.S. consumer interests.

• **Cutting back Amtrak subsidies.** The federal government subsidizes Amtrak to the tune of $25 per passenger trip. We should drop passenger railroad subsidies on those train runs where almost no one rides the train. Important commuter services would be retained, but subsidies of $2.5 billion over five years could be saved simply by eliminating routes where very few choose to use the service.

• **Passing "Porkbusters."** The "Porkbusters" bill I have introduced would cancel funding for 640 domestic discretionary projects that failed to follow the basic budget process. These include $185,000 for low-bush blueberry research in Maine and $600,000 for the Stuttgart fish farm in Arkansas. This legislation saves $1.5 billion in one year.

• **Allowing advertising on public broadcasting.** Cur-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rent law restricts the Corporation for Public Broadcasting from selling advertising. By allowing public radio and television stations to sell advertising on half of their programs, approximately $1 billion over five years could be saved.

Pete V. Domenici

In charting a $25-billion cut in federal domestic spending, we need to pick through domestic federal programs with two basic tests.

The first: If the program in question was not today on the books, would Congress find the need and public support to create it? If the answer is "no"—and it often will be—the program should be terminated.

The second test really involves a series of questions and an objective evaluation of each program and its claim on the federal tax dollar. For example, is this program truly a federal responsibility, or could it be more effectively carried out at the state, local, or private level? Are the program benefits targeted on those most in need? Was spending for this program authorized in the normal process, or was it a single-shot program slipped into an appropriations or a tax bill to curry the vote of a particular member? Does this program add to future economic growth by increasing worker productivity and national competitiveness, or does it simply contribute to current consumption, distorting free-market operations and discouraging private savings and investment?

Obviously, these two basic tests are more easily stated than implemented. But as an example, nearly $5 billion in savings could be achieved by terminating wasteful, unneeded, duplicative domestic spending programs. These include programs funded annually through the appropriation process such as disaster grants for tourist attractions, the Economic Development Administration, and Community Services Block Grants. Almost certainly, these—and many more—would fail the test of need.

Reducing appropriations for selected domestic programs may not necessarily lead to a real reduction in aggregate spending unless spending caps—like those created in the 1990 Budget Enforcement Act for 1991 through 1993—are similarly established for future years.

But the key to reduced domestic spending does not lie with annually appropriated programs, it lies with controlling mandatory spending programs. Today, nearly two-thirds of the federal budget is considered "mandatory." And it is this category of federal expenditures that is growing at a rate nearly three times the rate of all other programs in the budget.

Reform of the nearly $450-billion domestic, non-Social Security, mandatory spending programs must be accomplished to meet the $25-billion savings goal in the current year, but more importantly to avoid the country's future financial ruin. Sacred cows of all stripes must be modified, reformed, consolidated, returned to the states, or terminated.

The most obvious candidates for reduced federal spending are the rapidly increasing Medicare and Medicaid programs. Reducing federal costs in these programs could require a freeze on providers' reimbursement rates or higher premium and deductible payments for those with incomes above a threshold level. Clearly, any effort to reform the health-care delivery system in this country must include cost containment as one of its major elements.

Forcing reform of mandatory spending programs such as Medicare, Medicaid, farm price supports, and guaranteed student loans could be accomplished by placing a limit on the rate of their growth. I favor extending to mandatory programs the 1990 Budget Enforcement Act's procedure that capped defense and domestic discretionary funding.

Various formulas could achieve $25 billion in savings by limiting the growth in these programs to caseload and general inflation. By enforcing the spending limit with across-the-board reductions in those programs that did not comply with the formulas, the administration and Congress would be motivated to enact spending-reduction legislation to comply with the cap.

Orrin G. Hatch

In 1990, Congress passed the budget agreement with the stated goal of reducing the deficit by $500 billion over five years. We were promised a balanced budget by 1995. Yet, we are now looking at $400 billion of red ink this year and deficits in the neighborhood of $250 billion per year as far as the eye can see. The agreement has clearly failed.

The spending "restraint" promised by the agreement never appeared. Despite its promises, the budget agreement has allowed Congress to engage in taxing-and-spending as usual. The $160 billion in new taxes that Congress passed in 1990 were justified as needed bitter medicine to reduce the deficit. We were told that biting the bullet now with these new taxes would later yield a balanced budget. Unfortunately, this turned out to be an empty promise. We should know by now that Congress tends to spend new taxes rather than devote them to deficit reduction. Since 1947, every $1.00 in new taxes has resulted in $1.59 in new spending. True to form, Congress accelerated federal spending after the 1990 tax increases were enacted, and budget deficits have hit record levels.

We must gain some control over the tax-and-spend habits of Congress and the unbridled growth of spending. The deficit has become a millstone around the economy's neck and is impeding our ability to expand business, increase the saving rate, ease the tax burden on American families, and improve American competitiveness in a global economy. Controlling spending growth must be the number-one priority of Congress. It has already been proven that increasing taxes is not an effective way to lower the deficit.

Just two short years ago, this nation stood at a crossroads as to the deficit. Under the Gramm–Rudman–Hollings law, the deficit target for FY1991 was $64 billion. If this was not met, spending would be automatically cut. I am the first to admit that these cuts would have been a bitter pill for America to swallow. But if the medicine had been taken, the budget could have been balanced by now. Instead, Congress took the easy way out by passing the budget agreement, which promised a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

balanced budget without pain or suffering. I believe that this was a major mistake, and as a result, Congress not only delayed the pain, but made it far worse.

There is a solution still available. But Congress needs to decide collectively to make the hard choices this year. Every day we delay will mean the ultimate price to be paid will be that much higher.

For several years now, I have co-sponsored legislation to hold the growth of spending to a rate that approximates the level of inflation. Holding nominal growth in domestic discretionary and mandatory spending to 4 percent over the prior year, for example, would result in savings of $17.9 billion for FY1993 and a total of $277.1 billion over the next five years. A 3-percent nominal growth rate would result in savings of $26.6 billion in FY1993 and a total of $421.4 billion over the next five years. This concept does not cut spending in any particular category, but merely sets a limit on overall spending growth. It would be left to Congress to allocate the savings among the specific categories and programs. While such a plan would force Congress to make some hard choices, it would help spread the pain more evenly among the spending categories and constituencies. And it could balance the budget by the end of the decade without raising taxes.

The only way we can hope to truly solve the deficit problem is to grow our way out of it. This means that Congress must pass legislation to foster long-term economic growth as well as legislation to hold spending growth to a rate comparable to the inflation rate. This will require a new way of thinking on Capitol Hill and a collective willingness to pay the cost of fiscal responsibility before that cost becomes out of reach.

Joseph I. Lieberman

When public officials are asked, "how are you going to cut the budget deficit?" too many answer: "cut waste and pork," or "cut defense."

There is waste and pork in the budget, and I'm working hard to cut it where I can. For example, I support cutting 3 percent each year from the federal government's administrative costs as a way to save money and increase government's productivity. And I believe we should limit increases in the non-investment portion of the budget to the level of personal income growth.

While some defense cuts can be made in the wake of the Cold War, enemies remain in the world, and it would not be wise to cut defense too deeply. So, if we're going to be serious about balancing the budget, we're going to have to talk about the biggest part of the budget: mandatory spending programs known as "entitlements." By 1997, entitlements are expected to top $800 billion in annual costs—about four times the rate of defense spending. But the cost of most entitlements is, contrary to popular impression, under control, rising at or less than the rate of inflation.

However, the health-care entitlements—Medicare and Medicaid—are clearly not under control and their costs are rising rapidly. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that Medicare and Medicaid combined will account for fully 5.8 percent of our nation's gross domestic product by the year 2002. The resulting federal budget deficits will eat up capital, keep long-term interest rates high, and discourage (that's putting it mildly) economic growth.

The traditional answers to controlling Medicare and Medicaid costs have been "cut or cap benefits," and "control wages and prices." Eliminating or indiscriminately restricting these health benefits for the poor and the elderly is unfair, and is unlikely to be enacted. Some caps on costs might help, but current efforts to cap Medicaid result in such costs being passed along to the hospitals and the private sector, with little benefit for our economy.

"Volume guidelines" and "spending caps" in the health care system, including Medicare and Medicaid, may play a cost-control role. But they have the limitations of all wage and price control approaches and, on their own, do not provide an answer to our cost concerns.

The real solution is a health care reform proposal that introduces more of the free-market concept of "competition" into the system. We need to build economic incentives to control costs by fostering price and quality competition. Some states are experimenting with health care competition, including the use of managed-care programs, and we should keep a close eye on their progress so that successes can be adopted at the national level. The Heritage Foundation, the Progressive Policy Institute, and other groups are putting forth new ideas in this field as well. Congress should take them seriously.

Clearly, the task of controlling costs through greater competition in the health care system will not be easy, and will involve sacrifice, particularly since it will come at a time when it is likely the health care system will be opened to many Americans who currently have *no* health benefits at all. But the expansion of benefits with no significant cost reform of the system will have far more serious side-effects for our economy and our nation's well-being in the years ahead.

When it comes to putting the federal government's budget together, the old answers of the Left and the Right will no longer do. On the one hand, we can't eliminate Medicare and Medicaid to save money. On the other hand, we can't keep expanding benefits with no regard to cost. We need new, practical ways to solve these problems without regard to their ideological roots or partisan colors, and with regard to what will work.

To make a real dent in domestic spending, we need more competition in the provision of government services, accountability from government programs, and greater responsibility on the part of those who receive government aid. Those are the steps we need to take if we are to get the services of government directed to where they are needed the most, at a cost we can afford.

William V. Roth Jr.

Total domestic spending during the current fiscal year will exceed $1.15 trillion. This includes all funding except for national defense and international programs. Despite the five-year budget agreement, total domestic spending is 22 percent higher than in 1990, and the deficit is projected to exceed last year's all-time record

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of $269 billion by at least $75 billion. It should come as no surprise that domestic spending increased with enactment of the 1990 budget deal. As a study I released last year demonstrated, Congress increases spending $1.59 for every dollar of higher taxes.

Any effort to control government spending has to examine both domestic discretionary funding and entitlement spending. Domestic discretionary funding (programs for which Congress appropriates money every year) has jumped from $183 billion in 1990 to a projected $225 billion next year, an increase of $42 billion.

I propose that domestic discretionary spending be frozen at its current nominal level ($216 billion), and that this freeze be extended to the outyears. This would be a solid freeze, with no inflation adjustments. This would save $9 billion in the first year and achieve greater savings in the following years. Part of the savings should be achieved through a reduction in government personnel by imposing stiff controls on replacements resulting from attrition (through retirements and quits). My goal is a 10-percent reduction in the non-postal-employee government work force over five years. Congress should also enact the rescissions proposed by President Bush to cut out pork-barrel projects. In addition, Congress should reconsider such multi-billion dollar projects as the space station and the superconductor supercollider.

However, discretionary cuts will not do it alone. Carefully targeted savings in entitlements must also be made. Congress should drastically reduce farm price supports and completely phase out agriculture subsidies for such things as wool, honey, and dairy products. According to the Congressional Budget Office, changes in agricultural programs could reduce entitlements by $16 billion over the next five years.

Savings must be made in the increasing amount of money spent on health care. Savings in Medicare can be achieved in several areas by being more consistent in policy and through better administration of the program. More than $500 million can be saved annually in the Medicare secondary payor program. Currently, Medicare is paying the bulk of millions of health care bills that private insurance should be paying first. The payments are improperly made by Medicare because there is an inadequate system of identifying Medicare beneficiaries who have a separate primary insurance policy. For the most part, this relates to the working elderly enrolled in an employer-sponsored health-insurance plan. I propose to amend the W-2 form to better identify these secondary payor cases. When Medicare is a secondary rather than primary payor of these claims, the private insurer pays 80 percent and Medicare pays 20 percent, resulting in savings for the taxpayer.

Medicare should be consistent in reimbursements for outpatient services and pay a uniform rate, whether the service is performed in a doctor's office or hospital outpatient department. Currently, Medicare reimbursements vary depending on where the service is performed. Reimbursements should be uniform and made on a prospective basis for both hospital outpatient departments and ambulatory surgery centers. A first-year savings of $50 million can be achieved and more in the outyears depending on the transition of the payments.

In addition, a permanent change should be made in the timing of annual inflation adjustments to hospital payments by shifting the hospital fiscal year from October 1 to January 1. For years now Congress has delayed the start of the hospital fiscal year, and there are often delays in the administration's ability to issue important regulations until the start of a new year. Over five years, this provision would save over $5 billion.

Other entitlements, such as federal employee retirement and health benefits, must be examined. For instance, I would permanently eliminate the ability of federal employees to receive a lump-sum benefit when they retire. Reforming the federal employee health benefits program to place a greater emphasis on managed care and competition could save billions of dollars. Under current law, the government's cost for this program is projected to grow from $10.5 billion this year to $22 billion in 1997—more than 100-percent growth in five years. Billions would be saved by infusing more managed care into the system and requiring health-care providers to compete to provide coverage for the nine million enrollees in the plan.

Reducing entitlement funding is not easy, but it must be done if federal spending is going to be put under control. Even all of the changes mentioned above would not meet the $25-billion goal in the first year. But over a five-year period, they would reduce domestic spending by $125 billion.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dead Asian Male

Confucius and Multiculturalism

André Ryerson

Every person alive today is the beneficiary of a special privilege. It is to number among the witnesses of a turning point in history: the collapse of the most materially powerful, intellectually seductive, and socially entrenched system of tyranny conceived and erected by modern man.

The collapse of Communism, understandably, has somewhat dampened the inner fires of the Left. This includes many well-meaning people who could not quite bring themselves to celebrate the Soviet order, finding for the role of "model society" what they imagined to be plausible Third-World substitutes, while locating in the East–West conflict countless reasons to denounce the sins of democracies in general and the United States in particular. The substitute utopias of Cuba, North Vietnam, and Nicaragua, however, did not escape the vacuum effect of their patron's collapse, pulling them down from their jerry-built pedestals and sucking them into the black hole of recorded history.

As often happens to those who survive a catastrophe, the locus of faith shifts—out of psychological necessity—from the material to the ideal. Earthly embodiments that lie in ruins are put aside; the spotlight moves to qualities of the rescued myth. And if the material adversary of the ideal still stands, it continues to be the target of an ongoing if cosmetically adjusted hatred. So it is that anti-Americanism lives on, conflated with a generalized condemnation of the West at large. But where the axis of antagonism yesterday ran East–West, it has now "rotated," so to speak, and become North–South. Race, culture, and Third-Worldism take center stage from nuclear weapons, Armageddon, and the CIA. The result is a simplified paradigm for the adversary culture: a wealthy and arrogant West ignoring the poverty and secret virtues of the Third World.

From this changed reality a new utopia has emerged. Its capital no longer corresponds to a place on the globe that a critical observer might visit. Like Marxism before 1917, it is a place in the mind. It is a dream, and as befits dreams from the Left it a carries a generous name. It is called "multiculturalism."

Whether the dream turns into a nightmare depends on how people of sense respond in this contest of ideas. For below the surface the contest is the same. Multiculturalism thus far has been a proxy for continuing the assault on Western values such as individual liberty, a competitive economy, democratic governance, and the mores that make such a combination viable.

War of Words

Looking back on the career of the word "socialism," a pessimist can see what the future may hold. A term full of positive connotations is used to enlist support for a program containing noxious elements that would never be acceptable under their own rubrics. A war of words precedes legislated policy, with the more inventive Left defining the terms to be employed, and staid conservatives stuck with the language of their adversaries. Conveniently, "socialism" resonates with concern for society and an ethos of civic altruism; "capitalism" resonates with the material power of money and an ethos of greed.

By the emerging definition, opponents of multiculturalism are "ethnocentric." At best they are parochial, narrow-minded, and in need of reeducation to appreciate the diverse cultures of the world. At worst they are racists; white- and Western-supremacists; technological "ice people" at war with nature, people of color, and the nobler tendencies of societies not yet caught in the coils of advanced capitalism.

The response of critics to the latest cause of the Left has been prompt: Defend what remains of Western civilization after decades of assault. Criticize the faults of the multicultural agenda, concede the obvious virtue of better educating our children to understand the larger world, and hold to the principle that our schools have an obligation to teach democratic values to each new generation of Americans. The case has been well argued by a variety of public policy analysts and experts: Chester Finn, Herb London, Diane Ravitch, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Dinesh D'Souza, Midge Decter, Albert Shanker, to name a few.

André Ryerson *is a writer and education consultant in Amherst, Massachusetts.. He is co-editor, with John Fonte, of* America's Role in World Affairs, *a collection of essays on international education to be published later this year.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Multiculturalism Done Right

But in a contest of ideas, as in war, a strategy geared to defense usually results in a loss of territory. And what may be overlooked is that multiculturalism—in its broader meaning—includes possibilities that, rightly used, could advance the cause of democratic liberty everywhere.

Such a possibility was suggested by Diane Ravitch, assistant secretary of education, at a conference last year. Ravitch spoke of the need for the United States to help the cultures of Eastern Europe construct fresh political foundations:

> This is not simply a matter of exporting American values, but rather of helping societies that are emerging from, in most cases, totalitarianism, to discover their own desire for a civil society and to help them grope their way through to developing a civic approach to education. It was my experience that there is a tremendous hunger for assistance in these countries in terms of understanding their own history, understanding what went wrong, and seeking out the roots of democracy in their history.

This insight, in fact, is applicable to every non-democratic culture on the globe. What we call "Western" values are quite simply human values, the elemental seeds of which can be found in all societies over time. What has made the West unique is the extent to which it moved in the direction of the greatest freedom for the greatest number. But like the development of technology, now central to non-Western nations like Japan and Korea, the elements of individual rights are universal and the permanent monopoly of no single culture. By seeking the seeds of such values in other national traditions, however much they have suffered eclipse due to contrary forces, we can sustain a thesis offered by Jefferson: the impulses behind the experiment of liberty are universal, but the circumstances favoring such experiments are rare.

> It is impossible not to be sensible that we are acting for all mankind; that circumstances denied to others but indulged to us have imposed on us the duty of proving what is the degree of freedom and self-government in which a society may venture to leave its individual members.

Rain of Bureaucracy

If Western values can be discerned in non-Western cultures, the Jeffersonian thesis is sustained. Beyond making a theoretical point, it would supply the forces of classical liberalism everywhere with a lever to overthrow the burden maintained by some (at either extreme of the political spectrum) that classical liberal values are mysteriously linked to ethnic inheritance.

The People's Republic of China, for example, remains as politically remote from Western culture as any country one can name. It ranks high on the list of Amnesty International's worst human rights offenders. An established tradition of paternalistic authoritarianism that endured for centuries was not overturned by Maoism, but carried to new extremes. A question of philosophic weight presents itself: Did the cultural ingredients of China over its long history preordain this result?

AP/Wide World Photos

There is no need to force-fit the shoe of Western values on the Chinese foot. Many of our values can be found in Chinese thought.

Ancient China was a highly advanced civilization that, at several points along the way to modernity, headed down roads that proved to be dead ends. Various theories have been offered to explain why this occurred. One is that the very successes of early Chinese civilization, and the contrast with surrounding tribes, created a sense of self-satisfaction in the princely class that lasted until the painful discovery in the 19th century of the West's sudden progress. It has also been theorized that the elaborate irrigation system that the Chinese developed early on led to the rise of a bureaucratic state so pervasive, and convenient, that dismantling it became impossible. Europe never fell into such a pattern, according to this thesis (of Karl Wittfogel), because sufficient rainfall precluded the need to build and manage state-wide irrigation systems.

Experts prefer to theorize why history proceeded as it did, rather than to measure values that were present, yet neglected, and that tended in other directions. What then were the values, eminently Chinese, that might have led the Middle Kingdom to take a different path?

Right Conduct and Good Government

There is no need to force-fit the shoe of Western values on the Chinese foot. The case can be made with a remarkable figure of ancient China who left his mark on posterity. An enlightened conservative, his teachings contributed to the greatness, material and moral, of subsequent Chinese civilizations. His circumstances were poor. His skin wasn't white. He was neither Protestant nor European. Multiculturally speaking, in short, he was perfect. His name was K'ung Fu-tze. Or, as Europeans Latinized it: Confucius.

Confucius was a private teacher in the 6th century BC whose students were youths and grown men who showed an interest in three things: learning, right conduct, and good government. When revolt and chaos came to his native state of Lu, Confucius fled with a number of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Archive Photos

"Oppressive government is fiercer and more feared than a tiger." —Confucius

disciples to the neighboring state of T'si. As they passed the T'ai mountain, they saw a woman wailing by a grave. Under questioning she explained her tragedy. Her father-in-law was killed by a tiger in the area. Then her husband. And now, finally, her son. Then why, asked the travelers, did she not leave so dangerous a place? She replied: We stayed because, here, there is no oppressive government. "Remember this, my children," said Confucius, turning to his students. "Oppressive government is fiercer and more feared than a tiger."

In our time, people in the West, watching the flight of refugees from despotic regimes, coined the phrase, "voting with their feet." We assume the idea is recent. But in the 13th Book of Analects, when asked how one can identify good government, Confucius replied: "When those who are near approve, and those who are distant approach"(13:16). Voting with his feet was what he himself had done in leaving the state of Lu.

If oppressive government causes ordinary people to flee the state, then the judgment of common people must be worth something. Indeed Confucius specifically defined a state with good government as having: "sufficient food, sufficient weapons, and the confidence of the common people." Which among these would he sacrifice if compelled? First, weapons. Second, food. Last, the confidence of the people. "For a people that no longer trusts its rulers is lost indeed" (12:7).

This should not be confused with self-government. The people can tell good government from bad, said Confucius, but they themselves do not have the knowledge to govern. "The common people can be made to follow the Way; they cannot be made to understand it" (8:9).

Confucius's Golden Rule

Although the Analects support established authority, they also insist on the dignity of the individual regardless of social rank: "You may rob the Three Armies of their commander-in-chief, but you cannot deprive the humblest peasant of his opinion" (9:25). Nor are such opinions to remain a purely private matter. "In a country of good government, the people speak out boldly and act boldly" (14:4). This may well be the oldest defense of free expression on record.

One of the striking features of Confucian thought is its emphasis on the power of example, or *te*—moral power—instead of coercion. "If the ruler himself is upright, all will go well even though he does not give orders. But if he is not upright, even though he gives orders, his commands will not be obeyed" (13:6). This principle applies to those well below the rank of prince. "The superior man can influence persons who are above him; the small man can only influence those who are below him" (14:24).

The ruler of Lu once asked Confucius about slaying those who do not possess the Way of Wisdom. The master replied:

> You are there to rule, not to slay. If you desire what is good, the people will at once be good. The essence of the gentleman is that of the wind; the essence of small people is that of the grass. And when a wind passes over the grass, the grass cannot choose but bend (12:19).

The political norms of rulers in any society are influenced in some degree by the ethical standards expected of private individuals. The oldest insights into ethics turn on the principle of reciprocity. "Love your neighbor as yourself," from Leviticus, is one of the earliest we have. Rabbi Hillel, of the generation just before Jesus, clarified the moral logic of reciprocity in his statement: "What you do not like, do not do to others" (Talmud Babli, Sabbath 31a). Jesus expressed the same idea in somewhat different terms, the famous Golden Rule: "Therefore all things whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets" (Matthew 7:12). This general formula is seen as a great truth upon which much of Western ethical and even political thinking stands.

What we call "Western" values are quite simply human values, the seeds of which can be found in all societies over time.

Yet, when Christian missionaries first visited China, and began examining the culture of those they would convert, they were astonished to find that five centuries before Hillel and Jesus, the same basic idea was formulated by the great Chinese sage. Asked by a disciple how one rules with *te*, moral power, Confucius said: "Do not do to others what you would not like yourself" (12:2). The context is revealing. Confucius applied the principle to political rule as well as to personal relations, "whether it is the affairs of a state that you are handling or the affairs of a family."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Historians of Western culture rightly emphasize the emerging value of the individual, first in the Bible, then classical Greece, and finally in Protestantism's emphasis on private conscience over clerical authority. The following observation of Confucius, in this respect, is as "Western" as any comment of Socrates, Voltaire, or Thoreau: "What the superior man seeks is in himself. What the small man seeks is in others" (15:20).

Hostility to Social Change

With the benefit of such foundations, how could China have evolved into a political culture so at odds with that of the West? It is not as though Confucius were a marginal figure. The Chinese turned the man and his ideas into a national religion.

Regrettably, side by side with luminous insights into right conduct, the Analects contain ideas hostile to any form of social change. The doctrine of filial piety was well established before the time of Confucius, and nothing in the Analects questions the belief that the father retains authority over his progeny as long as he lives, that older sons command younger sons, and so on. (This is considerably more extreme than the Mosaic commandment, "Honor your father and mother," not to mention more sexist.) Furthermore, the state was seen as a structure of authority modeled on the family, with harmony achieved by assigning fixed roles of authority and obedience. Confucius had no argument with the doctrine: "Let the prince be a prince, the minister a minister, the father a father, and a son a son" (12:11). Filial piety, once projected to the state level, had the effect of making the prince's power absolute. Emperors were able to sanctify Confucian doctrines to preserve the old political order. Even the humanity of Confucian ethics could be made to serve the preservation of the status quo, since the Analects criticize harsh rule always with a view to reforming the rulers, never with the view to shifting power downward by means of new constitutional arrangements. It is one of the striking differences between ancient China and ancient Greece.

Multiculturalism is too important to be abandoned to the Left.

Mencius, the second most important sage of antiquity, deepens our understanding of Chinese culture on several grounds. Mencius codified the doctrines of Confucius, and added insights and reformist elements of his own. He held that human nature is essentially good, and that man enjoys free will and the choice to determine his destiny. He asserted for the first time that a prince's power is not absolute, because the interests of the people come first: "The people are of supreme importance; the altars to the gods of earth and grain come next; last comes the ruler" (Mencius, 7:B:14). Mencius even framed a "just war" theory in support of the forcible removal from power of a cruel prince. Two conditions are required for such a war: there must be no other alternative available; and only the right authority may initiate the conflict (essentially a neighboring prince who practices benevolent government). While the principle became established that the ruler exists to serve the people, its corollary—that a tyrannical prince may be deposed—was not recognized by China's long line of autocrats. Once again, the weight of tradition proved more substantial than the arguments of sages, no matter the shrines erected in their name.

Archive Photos

Filial piety was carried to an extreme when projected to the level of the state.

No Mention of Law

The careful reader of the Analects may be struck by the absence of something no Western work on ethics and government would suffer. There is no mention of the law. None.

The reason for this absence, quite simply, is that the rule of law is not a universal fact of life. It had no place in the China of Confucian times. Personal rule by the prince was everything. His edicts were his and his alone to formulate. And so one sees why Confucius attached such importance to the character, learning, and morals of a prince.

We are familiar with the evils of personal rule, for that is the nature of despotism anywhere, whether it be of Stalin or King John. But at least the West has had since time immemorial a concept of the law, against which the conduct of a tyrant could be measured. As far back as Isaiah in Israel and Herodotus in Greece, critics of immoral rule have used traditional law as the basis of their condemnation. Confucius had no such resource. He supported the preservation of religion and the obedient performance of all rituals. But these were aimed at nature spirits, not a God who enjoined man to live in accordance with moral law.

This invites the alert multiculturalist to note religious differences separating cultures, and the contrasting effects they may have on human institutions. Chinese religion developed a concept of heaven, conceived as a distant and somewhat Platonic ideal. Wise rulers were thought to have "the mandate of heaven." Refined and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Bettmann Archive

Unlike Moses or Hammurabi, the Chinese emperor was not subject to a higher power.

sophisticated as this idea may seem, and which some Eastern-looking Westerners have judged superior to the anthropomorphism of a Mosaic God issuing commands, it leaves the emperor alone as the supreme actor in the Chinese model of heaven and earth. The emperor may fall short of the ideal of heaven, but there is no higher power with laws that take precedence, or against which imperial edicts may be judged.

In the Western model, by contrast, God is an active force who issues commandments to which even kings must submit. Moses was never a prince, in the Eastern sense of the term, but a man chosen to hear and convey God's will. And before Moses there was Hammurabi, the first known lawgiver. Hammurabi of Babylon synthesized the customs of the various tribes he ruled into a single code, the text of which was inscribed on a stone stela. It shows the king in prayer before the sun god, Shamash, who delivers to Hammurabi the laws of the kingdom. Nothing of this sort belonged to the configuration of early Chinese faith.

The West, in short, may owe its evolution to the crucial role played by the law, for it is this above all that has emboldened prophets and reformers to challenge the rule of kings—even kings who claimed to rule by "divine right." Without the rule of law, liberties we take for granted could never have been imagined, much less won. Yet the entire structure, arguably, became possible due to a realm of life that historians usually set aside as irrelevant to worldly politics: the way a people conceives its religious identity, and defines its relation to things eternal.

Bogus Multiculturalism

The way "multiculturalism" has been employed may render the term unusable for the kind of inquiry sketched above. "Democratic multiculturalism" might define the difference. There is "international education," a rubric not yet converted into a battering ram for ideologues. But regardless of formal names, learning about the world's variety—cultural, political, linguistic—is an endeavor worthy of all who consider themselves educated. The danger is that the field will be abandoned to partisans of the Left, with grievous educational consequences for America's children, and political consequences eventually to follow.

Already there is evidence that the advocates of multiculturalism do not really want to study non-Western cultures. Such cultures are generally attached to old ideas about the family, not "gay rights," to traditional religious worship, not secular-political substitutes, and tend to view women in ways not likely to please reasonable feminists much less radical ones. Stanford University refused to authorize a course comparing Apache culture and the philosophy of Nietzsche (to be taught by an Apache woman and a white male academic), not because officials contested the authenticity of the material to be conveyed, but rather, because the warlike culture of the Apaches does not conform to the preconceived notions about "native Americans" entertained by Stanford University officials. (For an account of this fascinating incident, see Walter Lammi's "Nietzsche, the Apaches, and Stanford" in the Summer 1991 issue of *Academic Questions*.) In short, if the truth does not conform to ideological prejudice, a celebrated university will see to it that the truth shall not be taught.

What will take its place? Dinesh D'Souza, writing in the Spring 1991 issue of *Policy Review*, found among books approved for Stanford's required core curriculum (which displaced Western civilization) a text entitled *I, Rigoberta Menchu*, the story of an Indian woman from Guatemala. According to the book's author, the feminist writer Elisabeth Burgos-Debray, to whom Rigoberta told her story, Rigoberta "speaks for all the Indians of the American continent." (The two women met at a socialist conference in Paris.) One of the chapters, "Rigoberta Renounces Marriage and Motherhood," is not exactly expressive of values common to Guatemalan villagers. Throughout Latin America, whether culturally Indian or Hispanic, women overwhelmingly view marriage and the raising of children as a calling and fulfillment. The same is true in Africa and Asia. As D'Souza's analysis cogently puts it, Rigoberta does not represent typical Mayan vil-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lagers; rather, "she represents a projection of Western radical and feminist views onto Latin Indian culture....She is a mouthpiece for a sophisticated Western critique of society, all the more useful because it issues from a seemingly authentic peasant source."

What this amounts to is a form of ventriloquism. A non-representative member of a society is metamorphosed into a political "microphone," giving resonance to what would otherwise reduce to commonplaces in the mouth of a Western radical.

A more brazen example of such ventriloquism recently came to public notice when the organizers of this year's Earth Day asked religious leaders from around the world to read an 1854 "letter from Chief Seattle to President Franklin Pierce," which lamented the white man's effect on the environment. A *New York Times* reporter, Timothy Egan, learned that the "letter" was in fact a speech, the only extant record of which bears no relation to what environmentalists claim. The "letter" has been traced to a 1971 ecological film produced in Texas, in which Chief Seattle is made to pronounce his politically correct and up-to-date message. For eight years now historians have attempted, to no avail, to set the record straight. "Chief Seattle is probably our greatest manufactured prophet," says David Buerge, a Northwest historian who is writing a book on the Suquamish leader. The invented words are found in a book for children that has made the best-seller list, *Brother Eagle, Sister Sky: A Message from Chief Seattle.* Informed of the problem, the publisher of Dial Books said there are no plans to change the book's content.

In my community, a college town, mention of Christian holidays is forbidden in schools, libraries, and, notably, in a family center that operates from a church and employs a Hispanic outreach coordinator to recruit minority families who, for the most part, are devout Catholics. Instead of acceding to what real people want, enforced homage is accorded the religious holidays of Africa, Asia, and Amerindian tribes.

Bogus multiculturalism leaves itself open to the powerful alternative of an authentic multiculturalism, one that places real people, facts, and scholarship before ideological platforms. Although the university has become a bastion of ideas discredited almost everywhere else, the high ground of genuine scholarship remains for the minority to seize.

To those who would object that "democratic multiculturalism" would have a bias, the suitable reply is that where facts are concerned, respectable scholarship will not sanction bias. Values, however, are something else. Without apology we must assert that Americans favor political regimes founded on personal liberty, human rights, and democratic governance. As Diane Ravitch had occasion to say a few years ago in criticizing "global education" (multiculturalism's predecessor):

> This is an approach that many educators take in teaching global education: Don't be judgmental; accept the other person's values; don't impose your views. The problem with this line of reasoning is that if they take their side, and we take their side, who will take our side? Who will champion the values of freedom of mind? Who will defend the values that we hold dear if we do not?

How Values Survive

Freedom of expression, tolerance of competition, and free elections are cultural habits that do not inhere in the chromosomes. They are learned, by virtue of each adult generation teaching the young so that we do not repeat follies of the past and spill fresh blood, degrading the sacrifices of those who came before, merely to learn anew fundamentals we already know. As Jefferson observed in a letter to Lafayette, "The qualifications for self-government are not innate. They are the result of habit and long training." The overwhelming majority of the American people understand this. It is time for universities and teachers colleges to begin catching up.

A striking feature of Confucian thought is its emphasis on the power of moral example instead of coercion.

We will benefit from widening the scope of social and political inquiry to include experiences remote from our own. We should study other cultures with sympathy, but not with mindless or uncritical approval. It is now accepted that teaching American history in a hagiographic manner is poor history and bad civics. No case can be made for treating other cultures by a different standard.

The example of Confucius shows that we can learn from the insights of other cultures without negating or abandoning our own. To the contrary, our ethical and political understanding is deepened by hearing universal truths expressed in unfamiliar idioms. There are fascinating similarities between certain ideas of Confucius and Mencius and those of Aristotle (from the golden mean to the purpose of government). The guiding principle of democratic multiculturalism can be stated simply: Let us observe the similarities among cultures; and let us also discern the differences. Such an approach, coincidentally, is the method of honest scholarship, a quality in serious decline at the very institutions that claim it as their mission.

In the realm of democratic values and their opposites, we have come to see meaningful patterns of cause and effect over the past few millennia. Recent years and the collapse of totalitarianism have dramatically reinforced the basis of what we know.

The time has come for us to have the courage of our knowledge.

Or, as a sage from the far side of the planet put it, 2,500 years ago: "To see what is right and not to do it, that is cowardice" (Analects, 2:24).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Up from Mediocrity

What Next in School Reform

Chester E. Finn Jr.

In 1983 the National Commission on Excellence in Education declared that America was a "nation at risk" because of the low performance of our students and schools. It has now been nine years since that sober pronouncement, yet we haven't significantly turned the situation around.

Virtually all our eighth-graders are successfully handling math concepts of the kind commonly introduced by third grade (addition and subtraction of whole numbers, that sort of thing). But barely three-fifths of American eighth-graders are functioning at the level we associate with fifth-grade math: multiplication and division, problems with more than one step, *etc.* And only about one in seven is having success with problems involving fractions, decimals, percentages, and simple algebra, the sorts of things introduced by seventh grade.

Performance in reading is no better than in 1970, and has shown no perceptible improvements since the "Nation at Risk" report.

Why haven't we made greater progress? Perhaps the biggest reason is that people aren't changing their actual behavior at the "retail" level of education. Although parents acknowledge that we have a very serious national education problem, they are reasonably content with their children's education and with their local schools. The nation may be at risk but "I'm all right."

Drowning in Complacency

Our children think they're doing well, even when they're not. A recent international comparative assessment of math and science performance among 13-year-olds found American youngsters at or near the bottom. But when children were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement, "I am good at mathematics," U.S. youngsters led the world in believing themselves to be good at math.

A recent Harris survey shows a similar pattern among graduates of our high schools. Included in the interview sample were hundreds of young people four to eight years out of high school. Sixty-eight percent of them claimed that they had learned math well while in school. Sixty-six percent said they had learned to write well. Seventy-eight percent said they had learned to read well. Yet when a group of employers was asked to rate the high school graduates they had recently hired along the same three dimensions, the favorable ratings were just 22, 12, and 30 percent. And when, in the same survey, a group of higher-education people was asked to rate the high school graduates entering their colleges along those three dimensions, the favorable ratings were 27, 18, and 33 percent.

Many parents also seem reasonably content with their children's education. In that same Harris poll, when asked how well the schools had prepared their daughters and sons, among parents whose progeny went from high school into jobs the favorable ratings for those three subjects were 65, 56, and 67 percent. Among parents of those who headed to college, the positive evaluations were 71, 77, and 82 percent—actually higher than the youngsters' self-appraisals!

The annual Gallup education poll asks parents to grade public schools in general, the schools of their own community, and the school attended by their eldest child. The response pattern has been stable for a decade. Parents display low opinions of the nation's schools, middling opinions about their local schools, and high opinions of their own child's school. In 1991, they gave "honors" grades (A's and B's) to schools in general just 20 percent of the time, while rating the public schools of their own community A or B 51 percent of the time. As for the school attended by their eldest child, it received high marks from a remarkable 73 percent of parents.

Teachers also say that they are generally content with their schools. On an earlier Harris survey, sponsored by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and released in late 1989, 92 percent of teachers averred that their present school is providing a good or excellent education to its students. School administrators agreed. A survey found that 90 percent of superintendents and 88 percent of principals award "honors" marks to their own schools

Chester E. Finn Jr., *author of* We Must Take Charge: Our Schools and Our Future, *is a founding partner of the Edison Project of Whittle Schools, L.P. A version of this article was given as a speech at Center of the American Experiment in Minneapolis.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and school systems. Fewer than 2 percent gave marks below C.

Local school board presidents are interesting hybrids. When Emily Feistritzer of the National Center for Educational Information asked them in 1989 to appraise public education in the nation as a whole, the scores they gave resembled those of the general public: Just 33 percent handed out honors grades. But when asked to evaluate the schools of their own community—institutions over which they preside as school board leaders—they echoed the teachers and administrators: 79 percent conferred A or B grades and none gave failing marks.

Consider the implications for education reform: If children think they're doing pretty well, if parents think their own children are doing well, if people think their local schools are doing well, and if teachers and administrators in those schools agree with this appraisal, as do local policy-makers, why should anyone feel inclined to alter his or her actual behavior, to demand different results from themselves or their children, or to agitate for significant changes in the schools their children attend?

This phenomenon has at least something to do with why the results of our reform efforts to date have not been more positive. It also demonstrates that any education improvement plan that does not deal directly with the "complacency problem" is doomed to failure.

No Incentives for Achievement

Why have we failed to get the message across at the retail level? I can only speculate. Americans tend to be optimists to start with. We think pretty well of ourselves. We don't much like bad news. We're inclined to believe that things tend to get better, not worse. We also suffer from what John J. Cannell calls the "Lake Wobegon Effect" of current state and local testing programs—the phenomenon that finds virtually everyone to be performing above the "national average"—and we have a flood of upbeat press releases pouring from state and local education agencies, nearly always asserting that results are good and getting better.

Our elected officials have also let us down by not looking us in the eye and saying: "When I talk about educational melt-down, Mr. and Mrs. Abernathy, I'm talking about your Johnny and Janet and the school they attend, not about somebody else's children or the schools across town."

But another possible explanation concerns me greatly. There is some evidence that young Americans are behaving rationally when they don't study very hard or learn much in school. Outside the elites clawing their way into Yale or Stanford, it turns out that few Americans actually reap significant rewards from studying hard and learning a lot. Children ordinarily get promoted from one grade to the next pretty much regardless of how they do. Report cards customarily consist of good news and cheery, upbeat comments, no matter the actual level of performance. High school graduates entering the work force earn the same (for as long as 10 years out of school) whether they take hard courses and earn high grades or enroll in gut classes and get C's. Their employers merely ask whether they received a diploma; nobody ever looks at their transcripts, let alone compensates them differently according to their school records.

Higher education is just as unhelpful. Admission to most colleges and universities requires merely that you be able to walk through the door and write a check; only a tiny fraction of prospective college students seeks admission to competitive campuses. For most people, entry to the nearby state university is a sure thing, no matter what their high school record shows.

If we don't differentially reward high achievers—or penalize low performers—why should youngsters study hard and learn a lot, particularly when they have so many enticing distractions and short-term gratifications? Remember, they and their parents think they're doing OK in school. So, in the main, do their teachers and principals.

The complacency factor and the dearth of real world incentives aren't the whole story, however. We've also shoved five other vexing issues under the rug.

Neglected Truisms

First, we haven't been paying much attention to the truism that people only learn that which they study. No state yet requires all its youngsters to take the full array of academic high school courses that the National Commission on Excellence in Education termed the "new basics" in 1983: four years of English, three years each of math, science, and social studies, two years of foreign language, and a half year of computers. Because these courses are not required, few students take them. There's been some improvement in course-taking patterns in recent years, at least among college-bound students, but

Outside the elites clawing their way into Yale, few Americans reap significant rewards from studying hard.

we have a huge distance still to go. To some extent, we are flagellating ourselves because our children haven't learned things that, in reality, many of them haven't even been exposed to.

Second, we have neglected the truism that people learn things in rough proportion to the amount of time they spend studying. Yet the time factor has barely been touched in the course of our reform efforts. As a result, American youngsters spend less time engaged in academic learning than practically anyone else in the industrial world. We have shorter school days and years; our children do less homework. They are more apt (at the secondary level) to spend their after-school hours working at jobs. They're tied for the lead in television-watching. Is it any wonder that they wind up knowing less than their age-mates in other countries? No reform scheme that fails to deal with the time factor will make

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

much difference in the outcomes of education in America

Third, until very recently, we haven't been clear about our goals, about what an adequately educated young American would actually look like. Not long ago, Ernest Boyer compared education to "an industry that's unclear about its product, and thus is hopelessly confused about quality control." The governors and President Bush have begun to correct this situation, with their six commendable national education goals for the year 2000. These are goals, incidentally, that the American people overwhelmingly endorse, if the Gallup results are to be believed. But only a handful of states have embraced these, or any other explicit goals. This is not a trivial matter. Only when we can describe the results we seek do we have a prayer of attaining them.

Fourth, it's not just that we haven't known where we're heading. We also haven't known enough about the progress we're making. Our information feedback and accountability systems are wholly inadequate for the task at hand. We don't really know how well our children are learning or how well our institutions are doing at the many levels where we need that information: the individual youngster, the classroom, the school building, the local district, the state, and the entire nation. People take most seriously that which is measured and reported. Student learning outcomes at these six levels have not been satisfactorily measured or reported. And there is considerable resistance to rectifying that situation.

Last, we assign too many things to schools that they cannot do, and we do a weak job of enlisting others in their missions. When they are effective, schools can do a good job of imparting cognitive learning to children: history, chemistry, literature, and so on. But they are not powerful enough instruments to prevent adolescent pregnancy, redistribute income, stop the plague of drug abuse, or halt the spread of AIDS. Nor do they have enough leverage or enough time.

A child reaching her 18th birthday has been alive for about 158,000 hours. If she has attended school without miss—no absences for six hours a day, 180 days a year, for 12 years—she will have spent almost 13,000 hours in school. If we add kindergarten, the number increases to 14,000 hours. But that is only 9 percent of her time on Earth. Consider what this means in terms of the leverage of formal education, if much of what goes on during the other 91 percent is at cross purposes to the values and lessons of school.

Yet schools keep getting such additional duties thrust onto them. The sad fact is that they cannot solve these problems alone, and their willingness to try may let others off the hook. Spreading their efforts across too many fronts may also leave schools effective on none.

Ten Reforms

So what's the solution? Let me outline what I take to be 10 essential elements of a reformed education system. Most of these points also parallel elements of the president's and Secretary Lamar Alexander's "America 2000" strategy.

First, we must set clear outcome goals and standards having to do with cognitive learning, spelling out the skills and knowledge that we'd like every young American, regardless of background, to reach by the threshold of adulthood. For starters, we should embrace the six national goals spelled out by the president and governors, particularly goal three, which says that, "American students will leave grades 4, 8, and 12 having demonstrated competency in challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, history, and geography."

Second, once we have an outcome standard, we should relate our concept of graduating to achieving it, rather than to attaining some arbitrary birthday.

Third, we must recognize that getting essentially everybody up to a reasonable standard of intellectual attainment before they exit the formal education system will mean that most young Americans are going to have to spend a far larger fraction of their lives learning academic things than they are accustomed to doing today. This means changes in kids' lives. Frankly, it also means life-style changes for parents and families.

Fourth, we need a fairly substantial core curriculum throughout entire school systems, states, perhaps the whole country. How much of the total school curriculum should be swept into this core is up for discussion. That there should be one is self-evident.

Fifth, outside that core, there should be much variety among schools as to the rest of the curriculum, huge variation as to pedagogy, and great diversity concerning things like school climate, schedule, even the nature of the instructional setting. There should also be a good deal of variety in who runs the schools and the auspices under which they operate.

Sixth, implicit in the previous point is lots of school-site management. That, rather than central planning, is how authentic diversity arises, and how those engaged in delivering instructional services are most apt to become invested in what they're doing. Such site management can go quite a distance. In Chicago, it now includes the power to hire and fire the principal. It could equally include the ability to contract with independent providers for all sorts of services, from lunch to security to specialized instruction of various kinds.

Seventh, with schools encouraged to differ in many ways and to manage their own affairs, students and their parents must be allowed to choose among them on the basis of those differences. I don't just mean those families fortunate enough to get into magnet schools or gifted and talented programs, or to pay for private schooling. I mean every child and family.

It is a public policy sin to require a student, against his will and his parents' wishes, to attend a poor school that he wouldn't go near but for compulsion when there is a better one not far away that he would prefer, if only it were permitted. One of the main sources of inertia and complacency in education is the captive audience that we guarantee every public school, regardless of its quality. What's more, the chief barriers to integration in this society are now the district and municipal boundaries that function like educational Berlin Walls. They've torn down the one in Germany. How about demolishing our own?

Choice, let me add, also extends to teachers and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

principals. Everybody in a school ought to want to be there.

Eighth, for all this to work, there needs to be a first-rate information feedback and accountability system, such that everyone can see how individual children and whole schools, even whole states, are doing. Accountability in education can be visualized as a three-legged stool. The first leg is knowing what your goals are and having clear standards by which to know when they are achieved. The second is having reliable information as to whether those standards are being met at every level of the enterprise where this matters. (That's six levels: the child, the classroom, the school building, the district, the state, and the nation.) The third leg is what I call consequences. When the information feedback system signals that goals are being met, good things should happen to people. When the data indicate that the goals are not being achieved, however, something must change—some sort of intervention must occur—or we can be certain that the goals will continue not being achieved.

Ninth, we need to integrate parents far more directly and intimately into the work of formal education. This is commonly assumed to be the toughest nut of all to crack, and it may well be. Nor am I referring only to what happens in school. Parents are the single most important influence in the 91 percent of children's lives spent outside school. They aren't the only influence on what happens during that time, of course, but they are much the strongest.

Engaging parents in choosing the school is part of the solution. Parent participation in school governance is another. Explicit parent education programs are another. Parent-teacher-student contracts may be yet another. Much more imaginative use can also be made of technology to assist the school to reach the home and vice versa.

Tenth, and last, we need to make sweeping changes in how we select and employ the professional personnel who work in our schools. We should be seeking crackerjack principals and teachers in many places, not just from among graduates of teacher colleges and administrator training programs. We should be differentiating their roles within the school, and paying them according to those differences, as well as according to their demonstrated competence, the demand for their particular specialty, and the difficulty of their assignment. We should create incentives and rewards so that those who are good at what they do are properly thanked and compensated. But when someone doesn't cut it—well, let's never forget that we have an education system for the benefit of its consumers, not its producers. Let's keep real clear on whose interests matter most.

Public Support for Change

The American people are ready for these ideas. They are far more ready, I think it's fair to say, than is the education establishment. The latest Gallup education poll indicates that Americans are ready—at least say they are—for sweeping change in education.

Eighty to 90 percent support the six national goals, although they do not have equally high hopes of achieving them by the year 2000. When asked, "If a public school in this community does not show progress toward the national goals within a reasonable time, would you favor or oppose not renewing the contracts of the principals and the teachers in that school?," 57 percent of respondents say they would favor this; 32 percent are opposed.

When asked, "How do you feel about extending the public school year in this community by 30 days, making the school year about 210 days or 10 months long? Do you favor or oppose this idea?" Fifty-one percent are in favor—more than half for the first time in the history of the Gallup survey—and 42 percent opposed. (On a companion question about extending the school day by an hour, however, while support has risen to 46 percent, 48 percent are still opposed.)

Sixty-eight percent say they would favor requiring their local public schools to use a standardized national curriculum; 81 percent favor requiring the public schools in their community to conform to national achievement standards and goals; 77 percent favor requiring local public schools to use standardized national tests to measure the academic achievement of students.

> A child reaching her 18th birthday has spent 91 percent of her time outside school.

Participants were asked, "In some nations, the government allots a certain amount of money for each child's education. The parents can then send the child to any public, parochial or private school they choose. This is called the 'voucher system.' Would you like to see such an idea adopted in this country?" Fifty percent said they were in favor, 39 percent opposed. (Among black and inner-city residents support for vouchers rises to 57 percent.) When asked, "Do you favor or oppose allowing students and their parents to choose which public schools in this community the students attend, regardless of where they live?," 62 percent said yes, 33 percent no (69 to 25 percent in the non-white population).

Sixty-two percent said they would favor laws that take away driver's licenses from school dropouts under age 18. And 79 percent said they would prefer that councils of teachers, principals, and parents make school policy decisions rather than having such decisions be made by the school board and its administrative staff.

The data thus indicate widespread public receptivity to fundamental changes in the education system. The challenge is to make parents recognize that this will require major changes in their own schools and in their own family lives.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

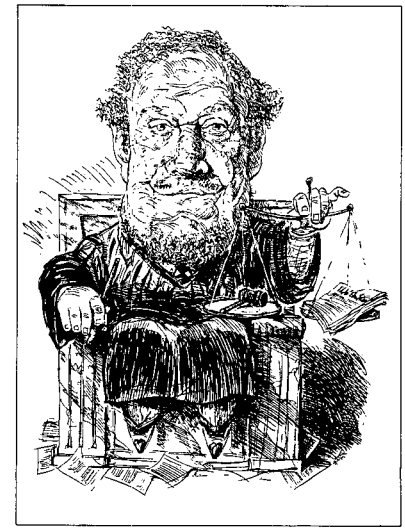
The Art of Politics

Classic Drawings from Policy Review

Since 1984, *Policy Review* has published drawings by several talented artists, among them Alexander Hunter, who draws regularly for the *Washington Times;* Bill Bramhall, who draws for the *Chicago Tribune;* and Anatol Woolf, a Soviet refusenik who is now a free-lance artist in Washington, D.C. We present here some of their best.

Alexander Hunter

Newt Gingrich



Alexander Hunter

Robert H. Bork

Alexander Hunter

George Bush

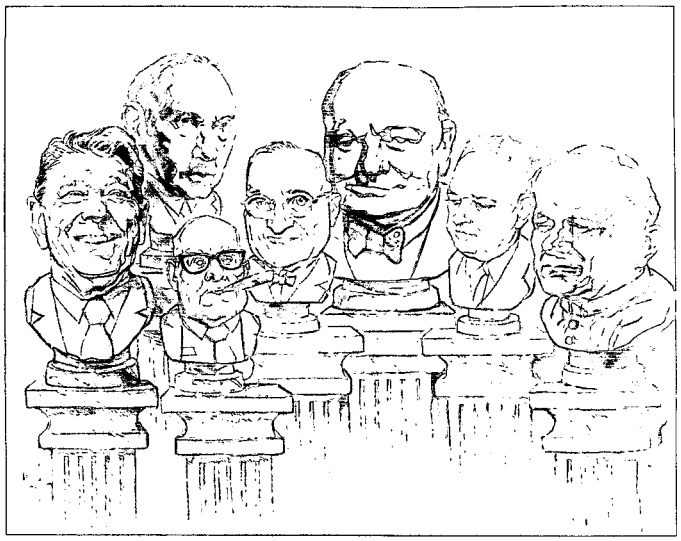
Alexander Hunter

Margaret Thatcher

Alexander Hunter

Clarence Thomas

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

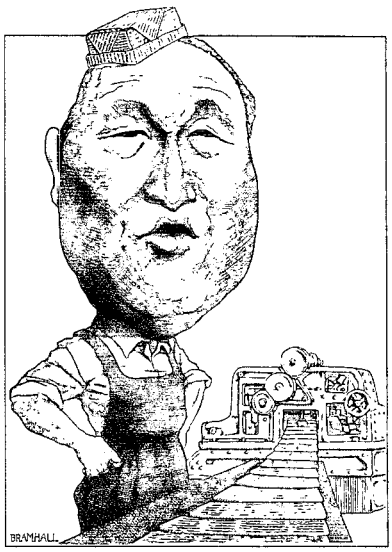


Alexander Hunter

The Cold War's Magnificent Seven: Reagan, Adenauer, Meany, Truman, Churchill, Chambers, Pope John Paul II

Alexander Hunter

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Winnie Mandela, Pik Botha



Bill Bramhall

Sun Myung Moon

Bill Bramhall

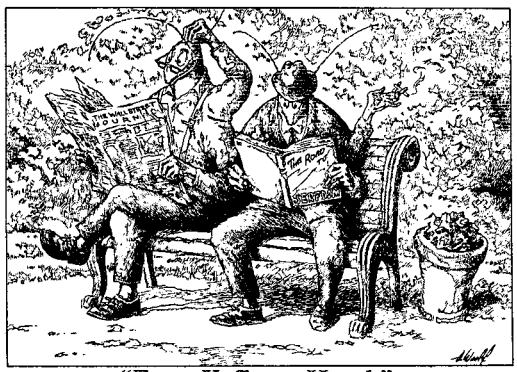
Jimmy Carter

Bill Bramhall

Jeane Kirkpatrick

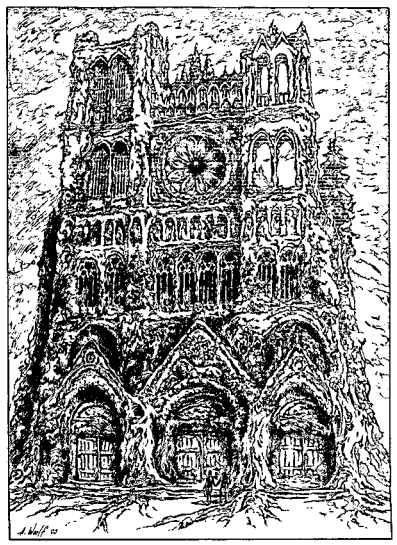
Anatol Woolf

"The Dying Bear"



Anatol Woolf

"From Kafka to Hayek"



Anatol Woolf

"Ecotheology"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From Carter to Bush

Are You Better Off Than You Were 15 Years Ago?

Number of Communist countries
1977: 22 1992: 5

Percentage of world population living under Communism
1977: 32.5 percent 1992: 23 percent

Number of strategic defense missiles deployed
1977: 0 1992: 0

Percentage of GDP spent on defense
1977: 5.1 percent 1992: 5.2 percent

Percentage of GDP spent on federal domestic programs
1977: 15.1 percent 1992: 16.9 percent

Percentage of GDP spent on federal interest payments
1977: 1.6 percent 1992: 3.4 percent

Total number of employees in the federal executive branch, excluding military
1977: 2.8 million 1992: 2.9 million

Federal employment per 1,000 population
1977: 12.6 1992: 11.5

Number of state and local government employees
1977: 12.4 million 1991: 15.4 million

Total government (federal, state, local) spending in 1991 dollars
1977: $1.3 trillion 1991: $1.9 trillion

Federal government outlays in 1991 dollars
1977: $873 billion 1992: $1,431 billion

Federal government revenues in 1991 dollars
1977: $758 billion 1992: $1.043 trillion

Per capita revenue in 1991 dollars
1977: $3,445 1992: $4,100

Per capita outlays in 1991 dollars
1977: $3,964 1992: $5,623

Percentage of GNP spent on federal entitlement programs
1977: 9.5 percent 1989: 11 percent

Percentage of wages paid in Social Security and Medicaid taxes
1977: 11.7 percent 1992: 15.3 percent

Government deficit in 1991 dollars
1977: $114 billion 1992: $388 billion

Gross federal debt as percentage of GDP
1977: 36.8 percent 1992: 69.5 percent

Political party identification
1977: 20 percent Republican/49 percent Democrat/31 percent Independent
1992: 30 percent Republican/39 percent Democrat/31 percent Independent

Number of Republicans in House
1977: 143 1992: 167

Number of Republicans in Senate
1977: 38 1992: 43

Overall spending on health in 1991 dollars
1977: $367 billion 1992: $809 billion

Overall spending on health as a percentage of GNP
1977: 8.6 percent 1992: 13.7 percent

Spending on Medicare and Medicaid in 1991 dollars
1977: $86 billion 1992: $240.4 billion

Number of low-income public housing units
1980: 1,321,100 1988: 1,448,800

Number of civilians employed
1977: 92 million May 1992: 117.7 million

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unemployment rate
1977: 6.9 percent — May 1992: 7.5 percent

Median family income in 1991 dollars
total: 1977: $34.570 — 1990: $36,916
white: 1977: $36, 149 — 1990: $38,547
black: 1977: $20,651 — 1990: $22,370

Per-capita income in 1991 dollars
1977: $12,493 — 1990: $15,023

Value of a one-dollar bill
1977: $1.00 — 1992: $0.47

Personal computers in use
1981: 2.1 million — 1988: 45 million

Percentage of households with VCRs
1978: 2 percent — 1992: 77 percent

Number of cable TV subscribers
1977: 11.9 million — 1990: 50 million

Percentage of households with microwave ovens
1977: 6.7 percent — 1990: 83.7 percent

Median price of a new home in 1991 dollars
1977: $104,105 — 1990: $128,332

Percentage of new homes that contain central airconditioning
1977: 59 percent — 1990: 81 percent

Median floor area of a new home in square feet
1977: 1,630 — 1990: 1,890

Percentage of Americans owning their own homes
1977: 64.8 percent — 1989: 64 percent

Weeks of median family income to equal average new car expenditure
1975: 18.8 — 1989: 24.7

U.S. rank in exports
1977: 1 — 1992: 1

Manufacturing as a percentage of GNP
1977: 23 percent — 1989: 23 percent

Dow Jones Index
June 1, 1977: 906.55 — June 1, 1992: 3,413.2

Proven world oil reserves (barrels)
1977: 643 billion — 1992: 991 billion

Gas pump prices for unleaded regular in 1991 dollars
1977: $1.40 — 1991: $1.14

Capital gains tax (federal)
1977: 49.1 percent — 1992: 28.0 percent

Tax freedom day (starting January 1, the days needed to work just to pay federal, state, local taxes)
1977: April 30, 1977 — 1992: May 5, 1992

Top income tax rate (federal)
1977: 70 percent — 1992: 31 percent

Proportion of federal income taxes paid by wealthiest 1 percent
1977: 13.6 percent — 1989: 15.4 percent

Proportion of federal income taxes paid by poorest 40 percent
1977: 9.2 percent of taxes
1989: 7.9 percent of taxes

Number of pages in Federal Register of new regulations (omitting blank pages, notices, and presidential proclamations)
1977: 24,192 — 1991: 33,553

Number of abortions
1977: 1.316 million — 1992: 1.6 million

Percentage of abortions that are first abortions
1977: 73.9 percent — 1987: 57.8 percent

Number of births to intact families
1980: 2.786 million — 1990: 3 million

Number of births to single and divorced mothers
1980: 460,000 — 1990: 913,000

Mean income for female-headed families in 1991 dollars
1977: $20,290 — 1990: $22,140

Mean income for intact families in 1991 dollars
1977: $40,943 — 1990: $47,528

Infant mortality rates
1977: 14.1 per 1,000 live births
1991: 8.9 per 1,000 live births

Life expectancy rates
1977: 73.3 years — 1990: 75.4 years

Education expenditures per pupil, grades kindergarten through 12, in 1991 dollars
1977-78: $3,889 — 1991-92: $5,578

Average teacher salary in 1991 dollars
1977-78: $30,289 — 1991-92: $34,413

SAT scores (combined math and verbal)
1977: 899 — 1991: 896

Percentage of 25-to-29-year-olds who have graduated from high school
1977: 85.4 percent — 1990: 85.7 percent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Percentage of 18-to-25-year olds who said they used marijuana in past month
1977: 27.4 percent 1991: 13 percent

Percentage of 18-to-25-year olds who said they used cocaine in past month
1977: 3.7 percent 1991: 2.0 percent

Amount Americans spent on charity in 1991 dollars
1977: $75.6 billion 1990: $128 billion

Prison population
1977: 285,456 1991: 823,414

Percentage of households victimized by crime
1977: 31.3 percent 1990: 23.7 percent

Percentage of overall work force unionized
1977: 26.2 percent 1991: 16.1 percent

Percentage of public-sector work force unionized
1977: 38.1 percent 1991: 37 percent

Percentage of private-sector work force unionized
1977: 23.6 percent 1991: 11.9 percent

Largest union
1977: Teamsters
1992: National Education Association

Number of labor strikes
1977: 298 1990: 44

Number of work days idle
1977: 21.26 million 1990: 6.58 million

Percentage of black households earning over $25,000 a year in 1990 dollars
1977: 33.7 percent 1990: 38.5 percent

Percentage of black households earning over $50,000 a year in 1990 dollars
1977: 8 percent 1990: 11.9 percent

Number of lawyers per capita
1971: 1:418 1980: 1:403 1988: 1:340

Percentage of women working full-time
1977: 32.3 percent 1991: 40 percent

Percentage of mothers of 6-year-olds and younger working full-time
1977: 25 percent 1991: 36.9 percent

Percentage of graduating law school students who are women
1977: 13 percent 1991: 43 percent

Percentage of graduating medical school students who are women
1977: 19 percent 1991: 36 percent

Carbon monoxide pollutants in air
1980: 79.6 thousand metric tons
1988: 61.2 thousand metric tons

Sulfur oxides pollutants in air
1980: 23.4 thousand metric tons
1988: 20.7 thousand metric tons

Average miles per gallon (cars)
1975: 13.52 1988: 19.95

Population of whitetail deer
1980: 10.75 million 1990: 15.5 million

Population of wild turkey
1980: 1.7 million 1990: 3.98 million

Motor vehicle deaths per 100 million miles
1980: 3.3 1989: 2.2

Number of conservative state think tanks
1977: 0 1992: 36

Appropriations for congressional franking costs in 1991 dollars
1977: $100.2 million 1992: $108.6 million

Average salary of congressman in 1991 dollars
1977: $95,145 1992: $125,615

Days Senate in session
1977-78 (95th Congress): 337
1989-90 (101st Congress): 274

Number of Senate committee, subcommittee meetings
95th Congress: 3,960 101st Congress: 2,340

Days House in session
1977-78 (95th Congress): 323
1989-90 (101st Congress): 281

Number of House committee, subcommittee meetings
95th Congress: 7,896 101st Congress: 5,305

Number of staff for the House of Representatives
1977: 6,942 1989: 7,569

Number of staff for Senate
1977: 3,554 1989: 3,837

Price of 1-year Policy Review subscription in 1992 dollars
1977: $25.60 1992: $18 ☎

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SPIRIT OF '77

As *Policy Review* was launched in 1977, a Southern businessman/governor who had run against Washington was in the White House, the Soviet empire was on the march, and the Reagan Revolution was just getting started. Here are some highlights from the year.

January 4—Tip O'Neill replaces Carl Albert as Speaker of the House by a partisan vote of 290 to 142.

January 9—The Oakland Raiders beat the Minnesota Vikings in Superbowl XI, 32 to 14.

January 11—Henry Ford II resigns from the board of the Ford Foundation because of the group's hostility to capitalism.

January 17—The United States Supreme Court restores the death penalty, allowing for the execution of Gary Gilmore.

January 20—Jimmy Carter is sworn in as the nation's 39th president. In his inaugural address, he tells the country, "Let us learn together and laugh together."

January 21—President Carter gives a "full and complete" pardon to Vietnam War draft dodgers.

January 23-30—The week-long serial "Roots" draws 130 million viewers, the largest television audience in history.

February 11—Lt. Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam seizes power in Ethiopia. Millions die in the next 14 years as Mengistu forcibly collectivizes agriculture and, with Cuban and Soviet help, steps up the war against Eritrean separatists.

February 17—Janani Luwum, Anglican Archbishop of Uganda, is murdered by the Ugandan government. Luwum is one of the 300,000 Christians and political prisoners killed since Idi Amin took power in 1971.

March 11—Twelve black Muslims from the Hanafi sect take over the District Building and the B'nai B'rith offices in Washington, D.C. 134 hostages are taken.

March 14—President Carter publicly supports marijuana decriminalization.

March 21—Secretary of Transportation Brock Adams says air bags should be mandatory on all cars in the U.S.

March 21—Marxist Puerto Rican nationalists bomb the FBI building in New York City.

March 24—Movie director Roman Polanski is indicted for the rape of a 13-year-old girl.

April 11—Andrew Young, United States ambassador to the United Nations, responds to fears of growing Soviet hegemony in Africa by saying, "Don't get paranoid about a few Communists." He then claims the Cuban presence in Angola adds to the region's "stability."

April 18—Patty Hearst pleads "no contest" to charges of bank robbery.

April 20—President Carter announces that one of the goals in his energy plan is "the use of solar energy in more than 2.5 million homes" by 1985.

April 20—The Supreme Court, on the basis of the First Amendment, rules that the state of New Hampshire cannot compel its residents to display the state's motto, "Live Free or Die," on their license plates.

May 9—President Carter asks Congress for a Social Security tax hike.

May 23—The Supreme Court rules in *Abood* v. *Detroit Board of Education* that non-union members can be compelled to pay union dues, even if those dues are used for political purposes they disagree with.

June—The first issue of *Policy Review* appears. It includes articles by Robert Conquest and Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

June 17—The Supreme Court rules that the state of Alabama may no longer require that its corrections officers be at least five-feet, two-inches tall.

June 19—The *New York Times* reports that boats of refugees fleeing Communist Vietnam have arrived in Hong Kong. These are the first of the 800,000 people who flee Indochina in 1977.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

June 30—President Carter cancels the B-1 bomber program.

July 13—North Korea shoots down an American helicopter. Three Americans die and one is wounded.

July 14—The Kemp-Roth tax-reduction bill is introduced in Congress.

July 14-15—New York City suffers a 27-hour blackout. More than 3,700 people are arrested for looting.

July 19—Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis declares anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti innocent of the murders for which they had been executed. He then designates August 23 as "Sacco and Vanzetti Memorial Day" in Massachusetts.

July 27—It is reported that the United States monthly trade imbalance reaches a then-record $2.82 billion deficit.

August 16—A bloated Elvis Presley dies at age 42 while reading a book on the Shroud of Turin. Two women are killed in the ensuing frenzied mourning.

August 24—A new report says that college freshmen have the lowest SAT scores in the history of the test.

September 7—President Carter and Panamanian dictator Omar Torrijos sign the Panama Canal Treaty.

October 2—Pol Pot orders the evacuation of Cambodian cities to counter the threat of "enemy spy organizations." Two and a half million eventually die.

November 9—President Carter signs a bill deregulating the air-cargo business.

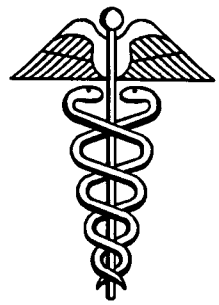
November 19—Anwar Sadat becomes the first Arab head of state to visit Israel, paving the way for the Camp David talks the following year.

November 19— *Star Wars* edges out *Jaws* to become the most popular film in American history.

November 25—Five thousand farmers driving tractors converge on the town square in Plains, Georgia, to protest President Carter's agricultural policies. They are angered by Secretary of Agriculture Bob Bergland's statement, "We have 150,000 farms in the U.S. which...are highly efficient and don't need any help from the government, and I'm not going to give them any."

December 5—Five Arab nations—Syria, Iraq, Libya, Algeria, and South Yemen—sever relations with Egypt over President Sadat's trip to Israel. ☎

Health-Care Reform



With more than 35 million Americans uninsured, and costs rising at nearly three times the annual inflation rate, it's no wonder health-care reform is the number one debate in Washington today.

The problem is sorting fact from fiction. And here's where The Heritage Foundation's health-care specialists can help. Over the past year, Heritage experts have explained — in clear and simple terms — the strengths and weaknesses of the leading health-care reform proposals to audiences at some of America's premier civic, trade, business and academic organizations, including:

Abbott Laboratories
The American Medical Association
Association of American Physicians and Surgeons
Dow Corning, Inc.
General Motors
Harvard University
Indiana State Health Commission
Medical Society of the State of New York
National Academy of Science/Institute of Medicine
National Association of Manufacturers
Pfizer, Inc.
Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Assn.
SmithKline Beecham
U.S. Office of Personnel Management

To develop a forum on the heath-care debate, contact Heritage Speakers Bureau Coordinator Barbara Hohbach at 214 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002; (202) 546-4400, ext. 516.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

C. Boyden Gray, David B. Rivkin Jr., William G. Rosenberg, Winston Harrington, Virginia McConnell, Robert C. Whitten, Carl F. Engelhardt, Thomas J. DiLorenzo, Alan Reynolds

Automotive Love Affair

Dear Sir:

Rick Henderson's article, "Dirty Driving: Donald Stedman and the EPA's Sins of Emission" (Spring 1992), correctly points out that automotive emissions are a major source of urban air pollution. Indeed, in the United States, passenger cars and trucks emit 90 percent of the carbon monoxide, approximately 50 percent of ozone-forming hydrocarbons, over half of all air toxins, and large amounts of nitrogen oxides. To deal with these problems, the United States has been imposing control requirements for vehicular pollution that are among the world's most stringent. As a result of these efforts, impressive environmental gains have been achieved—since 1970, hydrocarbons and carbon monoxide emissions have been cut by 96 percent and nitrogen oxide emissions by 76 percent.

Still, our American love affair with the automobile has resulted in a doubling of vehicle miles traveled, from one trillion miles traveled in 1970 to two trillion in 1990. In addition, we have seen the continuing expansion of the overall size of the vehicle fleet owned by businesses and consumers—over the past 20 years the number of registered vehicles increased by 56 percent. This, in turn, has caused auto emissions to remain high, despite the use of sophisticated controls systems developed by the auto industry.

The article also correctly criticizes the erstwhile regulators' pre-occupation with tightening tailpipe emissions of new cars and identifies the fact that poorly maintained vehicles are responsible for a disproportionate share of vehicular pollution. According to EPA numbers, 10 to 15 percent of "dirty" cars are causing more than 50 percent of all mobile-source emissions. This is the case because the environmental performance of vehicles is keenly dependent upon properly functioning emissions controls. Thus, even relatively minor pollution control malfunctions usually cause large increases in automobile emissions. Conversely, well-maintained vehicles usually run clean.

Remote Sensing Not Enough

Unfortunately, the article implies that the auto pollution problem could be solved if only remote-sensing devices were in widespread use. However, while remote-sensing devices can help control vehicle emissions, by themselves they are just not sufficiently accurate. Recently, 356 vehicles were tested with remote sensors at the Hammond, Indiana, Inspection and Maintenance (I/M) Test Center. Using recommended failure standards, the remote sensors identified only 30 percent of the 10 worst cars (with carbon monoxide emissions greater than 50 grams/mile) and only 11 percent of the high-emitting cars (with carbon monoxide greater than 10 grams/mile). To be sure, tighter standards caught more emitters, but failed many clean cars as well. Obviously, more technical development is needed on these systems. Furthermore, they cannot yet measure nitrogen oxides or evaporative emissions—the key ingredients of the overall auto pollution problem. There are other problems with exclusive reliance on remote vehicle sensing—it is difficult to position enough sensors along city streets to capture all of the vehicles. It is also unclear how to deal with those drivers of "dirty" vehicles who, upon being notified that their cars have problems, refuse to take steps to correct them.

While remote sensors are not likely to solve the vehicle emissions problem by themselves, they can help by spotting some problem vehicles between the application of more sophisticated tests and by pinpointing vehicles that may have found a way to avoid being periodically tested under I/M programs, *e.g.*, unregistered motorists or people who purchase counterfeit inspection stickers. Conversely, a strong I/M program can ease the task of remote sensors—once the majority of vehicles are well-tuned, it would be easier to identify the remaining "dirties."

New Approaches

Solving our auto pollution problem will not be simple. No one program will be enough. But cost-effective approaches like advanced I/M programs, alternative fuels, and innovative market-based concepts like President Bush's "cash for clunkers" initiative will help make our love affair with cars compatible with our desire for clean air. In fact, the pursuit of those twin objectives helped shape the key provisions of the Clean Air Amendments of 1990 and the administration's National Energy Strategy legislation.

Additional efforts in this area are underway. We are in the process of issuing guidance to the states that would allow them to commence broad trading programs between mobile and stationary sources, so as to enable parties to comply with environmental targets in the most cost-effective and least burdensome manner. Significantly, we are allowing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the states the utmost flexibility in designing their pollution-reduction strategies and plan to keep track of the evolving technology for monitoring automobile emission profiles. If further breakthroughs in remote-sensing technologies are made, the administration would make appropriate adjustments in its current strategy.

C. Boyden Gray
Counsel to the President
David B. Rivkin Jr.
Associate Director
Competitiveness Council
Office of the Vice President
Washington, DC

Limits of Remote Sensing

Dear Sir:

Rick Henderson argues that the United States Environmental Protection Agency is discouraging the use of a new technology that could cheaply and effectively identify vehicles that pollute excessively. He further charges that EPA has "suppressed" efforts to introduce remote-sensing technology developed by Donald Stedman in areas with polluted air.

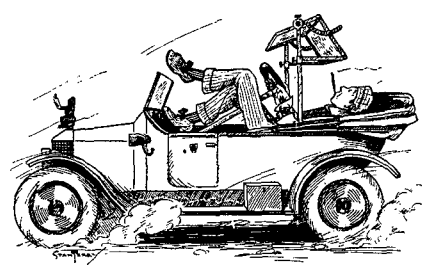
Mr. Henderson's analysis is faulty on several points. Far from suppressing remote-sensing technology as Mr. Henderson contends, EPA is engaged in several programs to evaluate its potential. The 1990 Clean Air Act Amendments require use of "on-road" emissions testing in areas subject to Enhanced Inspection and Maintenance provisions; EPA is encouraging states to explore roles for remote-sensing devices in fulfilling this requirement.

While Mr. Henderson is correct in asserting that a fraction of vehicles produce most vehicle-related pollution (a fact that has long been recognized by emission-control specialists), he is clearly off base in his contention that random-testing programs featuring Mr. Stedman's device could make much of the Clean Air Act "superfluous."

The device Mr. Stedman has developed is capable only of measuring certain emissions under certain conditions. Remote-sensing technology is not yet able to consistently measure emissions of hydrocarbons and nitrogen oxides, the primary precursors to smog. In addition, the device measures only exhaust from the tailpipe. It cannot measure hydrocarbon emissions that come from fuel evaporation, which is the major source of vehicle hydrocarbons in hot weather, when smog levels are highest. Many of the Clean Air Act clean-fuels programs Henderson attacks are aimed at introducing lower-volatility fuels that will result in inherently lower evaporative emissions and inherently cleaner vehicles.

Mr. Stedman's device can reasonably and accurately measure carbon monoxide emissions of a passing vehicle. However, a vehicle's operating mode (acceleration, cruise, *etc.*) can significantly affect emissions. The ability of an instantaneous measurement to reflect emissions over a broad range of operating conditions has not been confirmed.

Results of a recent EPA study involving some 350 vehicles validate this concern. Even for carbon monoxide monitoring, the device did not work in some situations and,



more importantly, missed the worst polluters. This is because vehicles that emit high concentrations of carbon monoxide (as measured by remote-sensing devices) in certain driving modes are not necessarily high emitters overall.

Despite these problems, EPA recognizes the potential for remote sensing and sees a role for its use in conjunction with the improved Inspection and Maintenance programs that states will be establishing under the new Clean Air Act.

Remote sensing can identify a portion of high emitters in a roadside environment quickly and unobtrusively. In this capacity, it could be used in random roadside-pullover programs to detect and deter tampering or readjustment of vehicles between fixed inspection cycles. States could also increase the effectiveness of their Inspection and Maintenance programs—and gain additional emission-reduction credits—by using remote sensing to screen the fleet and provide early detection of vehicles that deteriorate rapidly in emissions performance between regular emission cycles.

In sum, remote sensing is an emerging technology. There is much to learn about how to use the equipment properly and about how to exploit its potential. EPA supports and encourages further development of remote-sensing capabilities.

William G. Rosenberg
Assistant Administrator for
Air and Radiation
U.S. Environmental Protection
Agency
Washington, DC

Escaping Gas

Dear Sir:

Rick Henderson's article is correct on a number of points. First, Donald Stedman's remote-sensing device is very promising for monitoring and enforcing tailpipe emissions. Second, some of the measures now being promoted for mobile-source emission reduction, including alternative fuels and alternative-fuel vehicles, are quite costly and offer dubious emission reductions. Third, the generation of mobile-source emissions is highly skewed and disproportionately produced by a relatively small number of dirty vehicles. However, to put the matter in perspective, there are a couple of additional points that Mr. Henderson should have mentioned.

For one thing, it is not so surprising that even very old cars have low emissions of carbon monoxide and volatile organic compounds as long as they are well-maintained. Reducing emissions of these pollutants is no great trick if there is no constraint on oxides of nitrogen. But if nitrogen oxide must be controlled, then carbon monoxide emission reduction becomes difficult indeed. Quite possibly the low-polluting classic cars cited in the article had quite large nitrogen oxide emissions. Furthermore, while there are plenty of clean-burning old cars around it is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

also true that an older car is more likely to be a high emitter than a new car is.

Mr. Henderson's article also ignored the problem of evaporative emissions. The quantity of evaporative emissions—unburned fuel that escapes from the gas tank and engine—may be at least as great as tailpipe emissions. They also tend to be released on hot days, in conditions most favorable to ozone formation. At present, unfortunately, remote sensing is directed entirely at tailpipe emissions, so a very large part of the mobile-source emission problem cannot currently be observed by remote testing. However, there are a couple of tests for evaporative emissions that can be conducted in a cost-effective manner in a vehicle inspection program.

Despite its promise, remote sensing has not yet been tested in a full-scale program for identification of gross-emitting vehicles. While it is likely to improve upon the unsuccessful inspection and maintenance (I/M) policies of the past, questions remain regarding its effectiveness and cost, as well as how best to use it in conjunction with other I/M programs. Quite possibly the most cost-effective I/M program will combine remote sensing of tailpipe emissions with infrequent vehicle inspections (say, every two or three years) of evaporative emissions.

Winston Harrington
Senior Fellow
Virginia McConnell
Gilbert White Fellow
Resources for the Future
Washington, DC

Rick Henderson replies:

I never intended to imply that remote sensing alone would solve all our air-pollution woes. However, it can cost-effectively target the greatest cause of mobile-source emissions: gross-polluting cars.

I am delighted that Mr. Rosenberg agrees that gross polluters constitute a small minority of all cars. Unfortunately, his agency's policies don't reflect that. Consider a May 8, 1992, *Washington Post* story, which reports that, to comply with the Clean Air Act, Marylanders who commute into Baltimore or the District of Columbia may have to cut back on their rush-hour driving. Such trip-reduction plans do not target the worst polluters. Since fewer than 10 percent of all cars are gross polluters, the motorists this plan would force off the roads probably drive clean cars. It makes you wonder what the EPA wants to get rid of—pollution from the atmosphere or cars from the highways.

I appreciate Mr. Harrington's and Ms. McConnell's comments and clarifications. Indeed, as they (and the other writers) note, remote sensing can't measure evaporative emissions. And Mr. Rosenberg considers "fuel evaporation the major source of vehicle hydrocarbons in hot weather." That may be true. Professor Stedman says that no one has actually measured the proportion of hydrocarbons caused by evaporation.

But nothing—not even a periodic test—can prevent fuel from evaporating from a car that sits in a sunny parking lot undriven for several days. Current tests merely inform a driver that the car's mechanical devices controlling evaporatives are working. You keep fuel from evaporating by burning it. So to restrict evaporatives, you don't test a car. You drive it every day.

As for cars on the road, Professor Stedman says an EPA study suggests that perhaps one-third of a clean car's hydrocarbon emissions may be evaporative. For dirty cars, which by definition emit hydrocarbons from uncombusted fuel, the proportion should be lower.

Yet because remote sensing can't isolate evaporatives, the EPA would toss out the entire technology. This underscores my point: EPA regulators hold remote testing to a standard that no pollution-control technology could achieve: perfection.

All the other programs currently given clean-air credits by the EPA to control mobile-source emissions—alternative fuels, electric cars, "cash for clunkers," even enhanced inspection and maintenance programs—tinker at the margins. It is a shame that Mr. Gray and Mr. Rivkin, who usually support the "polluter pays" principle, so readily dismiss this inexpensive, practical application.

As for the Indiana test, it appears that Professor Stedman and the writers disagree on how to interpret the data. Professor Stedman says that every car the remote sensor flagged for emitting more than 4.5 percent carbon monoxide also failed a stationary smog test.

But even if remote sensing can catch only three out of 10 gross polluters, with the remote sensor we can identify and fix those three cars. Compare remote sensing's promised pollution reductions and its costs with everything else in the Clean Air Act. Nothing else comes close.

You wonder what the EPA wants to get rid of—pollution from the atmosphere or cars from the highways.

—Rick Henderson

Reserves Are No Minutemen

Dear Sir:

While there is almost universal agreement on cutting this nation's defense expenditures, disagreement reigns supreme on how and how much. Angelo Codevilla's proposal in "Fighting Trim: How to Cut the Defense Budget by $100 Billion" (Spring 1992) is a good example of how *not* to do it.

The crux of Mr. Codevilla's arguments seems to be that since we no longer face an imminent deadly threat, we can afford to place most of our forces in the reserve with essentially caretaker forces for maintenance. Under this scheme the highly trained reserves led by the active-duty professionals could be quickly summoned like the minutemen of old to deal with aggressors. Never mind that most of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the reserves require at least 60 days for assembly and refresher training. Moreover, he suggests that active-duty personnel themselves are to be primarily a bunch of draftees led by a handful of professional officers—in other words, a bunch of amateurs in which some of the reservists would be the professionals! Mr. Codevilla knows as well as I do that you get what you pay for in the realm of military personnel. If you want professionals, they must be well-paid, long-term soldiers, sailors, and airmen. On the other hand, if you simply want to fill out the muster rolls, then bring on the draftees. But do not expect much in the way of performance from them. As for the reserves, the high degree of professionalism of the current reservists stems from their having served at least three to four years on active duty. Former draftees would be as useless in the reserves as they were on active duty. This is not to say that we do not need the reserves. We most definitely do need them to supplement the regulars, but not to the extreme extent advocated by Mr. Codevilla.

Mr. Codevilla also proposes to abolish the current high-cost procurement and research and development bureaucracies as a means of cutting expenditures. The only reason that we have such expensive bureaucracies in place today is congressional mandate. He does not say how he will induce Congress to forgo the pork and the temptation to meddle.

Finally, he proposes that we adopt the Swiss model of a completely civilian citizen army just when the Swiss themselves may be on the verge of abandoning it because it is obsolete. Mr. Codevilla's suggestions, which incidentally would trample on civil liberties through reintroduction of the military draft in peacetime, are quite impractical. In view of his generally level-headed approach to social, political, and economic issues, I am quite surprised at his position on our defense forces.

Robert C. Whitten
Chairman
Community Education Committee
Navy League of the United States
Cupertino, CA

National Guard Can't Hack It

Dear Sir:

Regarding the question of how to cut existing military expenditures by $100 billion, one of the worst ways in my view is Mr. Codevilla's suggestion that the nation significantly reduce the active forces and rely instead predominantly on reserve forces to execute combat missions.

As Desert Storm showed, modern warfare (even against the likes of Iraq) is enormously sophisticated. There is no time to refurbish equipment or train military organizations to fight as combined-arms teams. War is largely a come-as-you-are affair in which the outcome is determined to a great extent by the readiness of existing forces at the outset of a conflict. To win quickly with a minimum of casualties, equipment must be constantly maintained and soldiers endlessly trained. Given this reality, cutting the active forces as Mr. Codevilla suggests is a recipe for disaster.

Keeping combat forces of different branches (infantry, armor, artillery) and services (Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines) prepared to fight as a cohesive whole is a full-time job, and then some. Even military experts like Mr. Codevilla might be surprised to discover just how much time the average soldier in the 82nd Airborne Division, or the 7th Infantry Division (Light), or the 2nd Infantry Division spends out in the field training for war. And the training is not for the faint-hearted; it's extremely arduous and stressful.

I am not suggesting that reserve soldiers in combat units are all couch potatoes; nonetheless, if Mr. Codevilla were to visit some units and talk with soldiers, both active-duty and reserve, he quickly would discover that most Army Reserve units are far from prepared to fight as components of combined-arms teams. But don't take my word for it; ask the active-duty officers and NCOs who have served as advisors with Reserve and National Guard combat units. Ask the evaluators at the National Training Center at Ft. Irwin who were given the task of validating the combat capabilities of Army Reserve units mobilized for the Gulf War. (The Army's round-out program in which reserve combat brigades go to war attached to active divisions proved to be a dismal failure during Desert Shield and Desert Storm.) Real combat? Let's get serious. The National Guard has enough on its hands quelling campus sit-ins and civil disturbances.

I want to emphasize again that the limited capabilities of Army National Guard and Army Reserve combat units are not a reflection of the quality of their troops. But these soldiers are first and foremost civilians who work non-military jobs. They simply don't have the time or the dedication to master the highly perishable skills that are required to execute large-scale combat operations on a modern battlefield. How can we expect them to when professional soldiers are compelled to spend long hours day in and day out mastering their trade?

Therefore, if the defense budget must be cut, eliminate a large portion of the Army National Guard and Army Reserve combat forces. For what we get from them in terms of combat capabilities, they are not worth the money or the manpower. Reduce also the relatively huge Department of Defense civilian work force, especially in the senior grades. It represents an entrenched bureaucracy if there ever was one, and cutting it by 30 percent (or

Real combat? Let's get serious. The National Guard has enough on its hands quelling campus sit-ins and civil disturbances.

—Carl F. Engelhardt

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more) won't hurt the ability of the Army, Air Force, and Navy to fight and win.

Perhaps the question you posed to your panel of experts (none of whom are soldiers, conservative or otherwise) was inappropriate to begin with. Perhaps a better question is to ask whether the world's only superpower can risk making even minor reductions in its active military force and the budget that supports it. There is little indication that the end of the Cold War signifies peace in our times. On the contrary, nuclear proliferation, global terrorism, the powderkeg in the Middle East, Third-World poverty, and the often violent disintegration of nation-states from within are likely to make war the norm and not the exception during the next several decades. To cut our defenses on the assumption that the United States will not be drawn into these wars is a fool's game. Better to retain a well-trained and highly responsive active military of size because, where war is concerned, it is preferable by far to have too much combat power rather than not enough.

Carl F. Engelhardt
Major, U.S. Army
Arlington, VA

Government Shouldn't Mandate Savings

Dear Sir:

David Hale's call for a "major increase in national savings" in "Global Super Market: The Real Peace Dividend Is Three Billion New Customers" (Spring 1992) is unduly alarmist. If there is a "surplus" of investment opportunities, as he contends, then the market will keep interest rates high enough to modify any savings decline, to attract capital from abroad, and to discourage investment in marginal or low-yielding projects.

Mr. Hale implies that it is the proper role of government to determine the "correct" savings rate, but he doesn't discuss any criteria to determine such a rate. The truth is that there is no optimal savings rate out there to be defined by economists, bureaucrats, or anyone else and then imposed on the public by government. As a classical liberal, I believe that the "correct" savings rate is the level of savings that would emerge if individuals were free to divide their income between current and future consumption according to their own subjective values. The government has no business forcing us to save more. If the citizens of other countries save more and consume less, then so be it. That is their own free choice.

Of course, tax policy distorts these choices by taxing savings excessively. Reducing taxes on savings

income (and on all income) is desirable, but Mr. Hale does not advocate that. Rather, he wants to "slash tax subsidies," which, translated, means ending the mortgage interest deduction and raising taxes on consumption. In short, he is arguing for what might well be another "biggest federal tax increase in history," to rival the one enacted by President Bush and the Congress in 1990.

It is incredible that anyone would still believe that major tax increases would do anything but *increase* the federal deficit, as the 1982 and 1990 increases did. Yet, Mr. Hale claims that these tax increases are necessary to "cut the total public-sector deficit," which will supposedly lead to a higher savings rate. Raising taxes in the ways favored by Mr. Hale will only quicken the pace of spending, increase the deficit, and reduce the savings rate.

Thomas J. DiLorenzo
Professor of Economics
Loyola College
Baltimore, MD

Lehrman-Mueller Is Bearish

Dear Sir:

Gregory Fossedal's uneasy case for "The Lehrman–Mueller Hypothesis: A New Theory of Deficits, Stagflation, and Monetary Disorder" (Winter 1992) begins with the mighty proclamation that it has "predicted each of the major turning points," starting in 1989. Yet he later confesses that the timing was way off in 1989, 1990, and early 1991, then updates that record by noting that real growth was expected to be "4 percent for the second half of 1991." Four blunders in three years is something less than awesome.

Mr. Fossedal claims that "retroactively, some supply-siders blame inflation spikes that spanned 1989 and 1990 on a war that began in August 1990." The comment refers to me, but it is not what I said. Mr. Mueller graphs year-to-year changes in the price indexes, which makes near-term "forecasts" easy, since figures for the next few months will always be dominated by the eight or nine months of data we've already seen. Retroactively, Lehrman Bell Mueller Cannon (LBMC) thus took credit for "predicting" the only "spike" in year-to-year inflation, which occurred from August through October 1990. Since that extremely brief spike was obviously due to war speculation in oil and metals, the model apparently predicts wars, with a two-year lag.

The main theoretical dispute here is not with supply-side economics, *per se*, but with rational expectations. If the mysterious, "proprietary" LBMC model could predict changes in inflation with a lag of more than two years, then markets would act on that information and the lag would disappear. Consider the following passage:

> Inflation takes the form first of a rise in the price of stocks, bonds, equities, and foreign exchange....It then moves, over a period of months and years, into...price hikes in sensitive commodities. Finally, finished-goods prices rise, and with them, long-term interest rates.

This sequence begins with the stock, bond, and foreign-exchange markets being repeatedly fooled by a policy that always ends in inflation. Indeed, inflationary policy will supposedly make the dollar go up, and induce people to buy bonds! Years later, the commodity market finally

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

catches on, but bondholders still don't notice until they see it in the year-to-year Consumer Price Index. The faithful could invest on this "hypothesis," if they could figure it out. Does it mean that Japan's stocks went down because their monetary policy is deflationary, while U.S. stocks went up because ours is inflationary? If so, the ill-fated Lehrman–Mueller forecast of a rising yen might have made some sort of sense, though believing it was a great way to lose money.

The assumed myopia of markets, which supposedly take years to notice an impending inflation, is hard to square with overwhelming evidence that global asset markets are efficient. It is quite clear, even to newspaper reporters, that bond, commodity, and foreign-exchange traders are not only acutely sensitive to immediate monetary conditions, but even to rumors of future policy changes. The lag in commodity and foreign-exchange markets, in particular, is measured in minutes, not years. That's why they're called "sensitive" commodities.

There is little disagreement between supply-siders and Rueffians about what constitutes good policy, only about what constitutes logic and evidence. Several supply-side economists have long led a lonely battle on behalf of the principal Lehrman–Mueller policy recommendation—a classical gold standard. Supply-siders would surely disagree, though, with their claim that the world economy as a whole (not just the United States) has already attained most of the potential benefits from deregulation, free trade, and tax reform. And, yes, "supply-side rhetoric" cannot agree that trade deficits (the counterpart to capital imports) are always a sign of weakness, that governments should never borrow, or that budget deficits cause trade deficits. Borrowing from the zero-sum accounting of Tory Keynesians often leads Lehrman–Mueller astray.

Mr. Fossedal is quite right that it was simply political gamesmanship to blame the worldwide slump on U.S. tax laws of 1986 and 1990, though those laws did cause problems. I would also place some blame on 1990–1991 tax hikes in Canada, Germany, Japan, and Russia, and the threat of tax hikes in Britain. But the global contraction was nonetheless primarily of monetary origin. The Lehrman–Mueller hypothesis correctly focuses our attention on such global monetary developments, but does so from an unnecessarily obsessive focus on central bank holdings of U.S. Treasury bills. What happened with world money was clear enough from familiar indicators, without relying on an implausibly long lag. But what happened is quite the opposite of the reflationary boom that Lehrman–Mueller mistakenly forecast for 1991.

There was a substantial worldwide monetary squeeze from late 1990 through 1991 in every major country but Germany, and this was instantly visible in commodity prices (except at the start of the war), and later in broad measures of the money stock. The tightening of capital standards may have had something to do with it. In any case, there were important benefits from this abrupt disinflation, in lower inflation and interest rates. But there were also transitional difficulties. Profit margins were squeezed, since previously contracted costs could not be passed along as higher prices. Consumers and business had an incentive to postpone purchases of durable goods and inventories, waiting for lower prices and lower interest rates. Prices of traditional hedge assets, such as land, were deflated, creating problems for bank loans based on those assets. All this can be easily understood without reinventing the old monetarist "long lags" and irrational expectations.

Alan Reynolds
Director of Economic Research
Hudson Institute
Indianapolis, IN

Gregory Fossedal replies:

Alan Reynolds' response is extremely important because it signals a growing recognition among supply-siders: that monetary policy was the primary culprit in the recent recession that ended in spring 1991.

But Mr. Reynolds' theoretical assumptions, however plausible, do not answer Lehrman-Mueller's empirical evidence. Over a 50-year period, the Lehrman-Mueller World Dollar Base has explained two-thirds of commodity price inflation two years later. This challenges a widely held view, but so far no one has explained it away.

In my article, I went out of my way to highlight several short-term forecast "misses." But Mr. Reynolds is incorrect on the main issue, which is the predictive power of the Lehrman-Mueller hypothesis on key turning points. It did predict the recession a year in advance, did correctly predict (in November, 1988) that "the CPI should rise 6–7 percent in the 12 months ending in mid-1990," and did accurately forecast that recovery would begin in the second quarter of 1991. In December of 1990 and December of 1991, Lehrman and Mueller also correctly predicted both the recent stock market rallies. Warts and all, I find this a compelling record. ☎

The government has no business forcing us to save more. If the citizens of other countries save more and consume less, then so be it. That is their own free choice.

—Thomas J. DiLorenzo

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

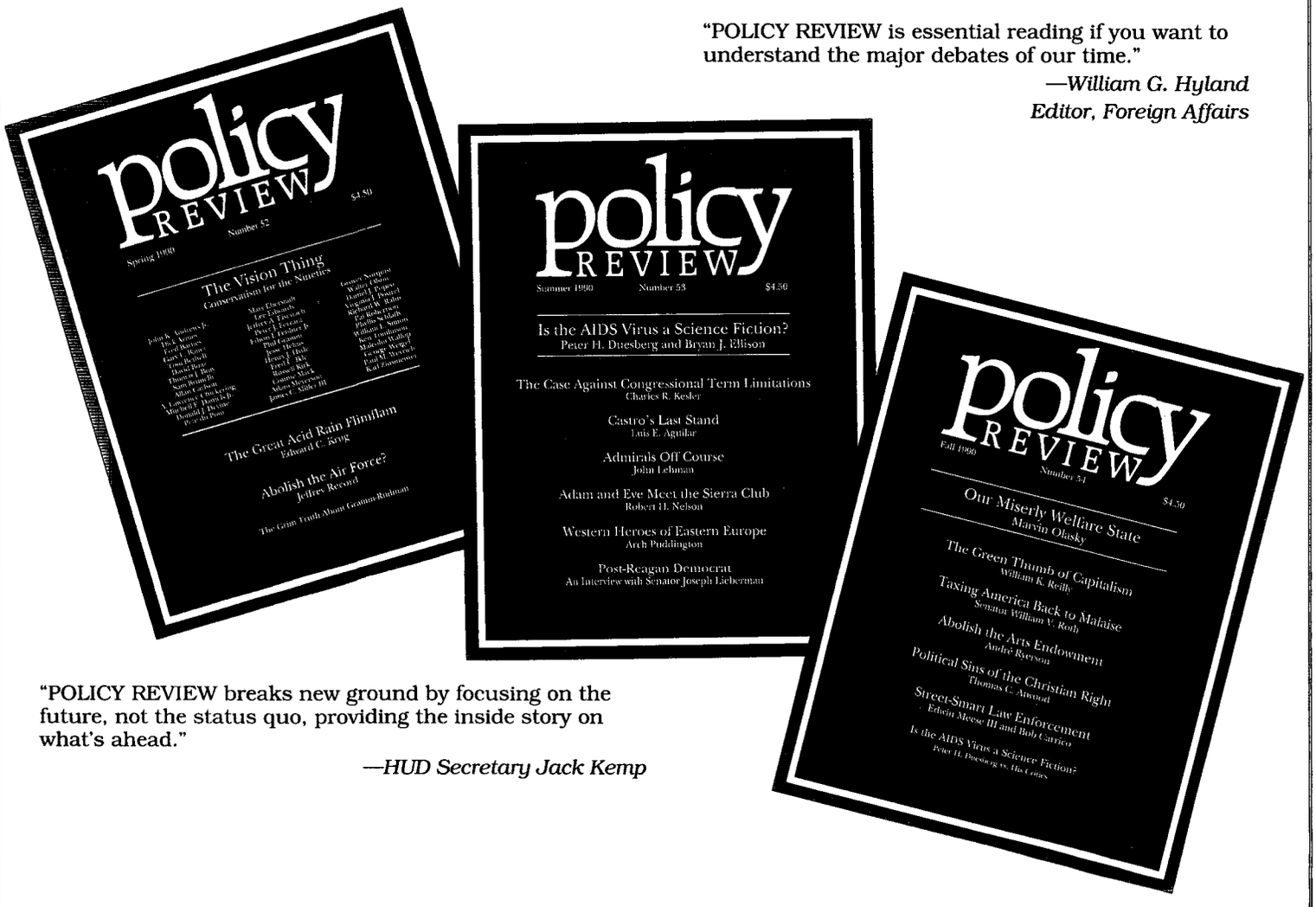
Conservative Thought At Its Best

"POLICY REVIEW is the most thoughtful, the most provocative, and the most influential publication on the intellectual right."

—Martin Peretz
Editor-in-Chief, The New Republic

"POLICY REVIEW is essential reading if you want to understand the major debates of our time."

—William G. Hyland
Editor, Foreign Affairs



"POLICY REVIEW breaks new ground by focusing on the future, not the status quo, providing the inside story on what's ahead."

—HUD Secretary Jack Kemp

Now available at special introductory prices—up to 22% off !

SSA92C

Name _____
(please print)
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____

☐ One year, 4 issues for $16 (11% off) ☐ Two years, 8 issues for $30 (16% off) ☐ Three years, 12 issues for $42 (22% off)

Begin my subscription: ☐ Current issue ☐ Next issue Payment Terms: ☐ Payment Enclosed ☐ Bill Me

Bill my: ☐ Visa ☐ Master Card ☐ American Express

Card Number _____ Exp. Date _____

Signature _____

Please make checks payable to: POLICY REVIEW, 214 Massachusetts Avenue, NE, Washington, DC, 20002. Add $8.00 postage per year for foreign air-speeded delivery.

POLICY REVIEW—the thought leader of American conservatism.

policy REVIEW

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

policy REVIEW

There is no need to force-fit the shoe of Western values on the Chinese foot. The case can be made with a remarkable figure of ancient China who left his mark on posterity. An enlightened conservative, his teachings contributed to the greatness, material and moral, of subsequent Chinese civilizations. His circumstances were poor. His skin wasn't white. He was neither Protestant nor European. Multiculturally speaking, in short, he was perfect. His name was K'ung Fu-tze. Or, as Europeans Latinized it: Confucius.

André Ryerson
Dead Asian Male:
Confucius and Multiculturalism

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED